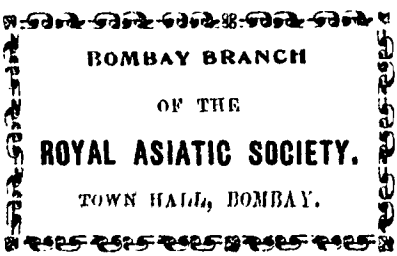


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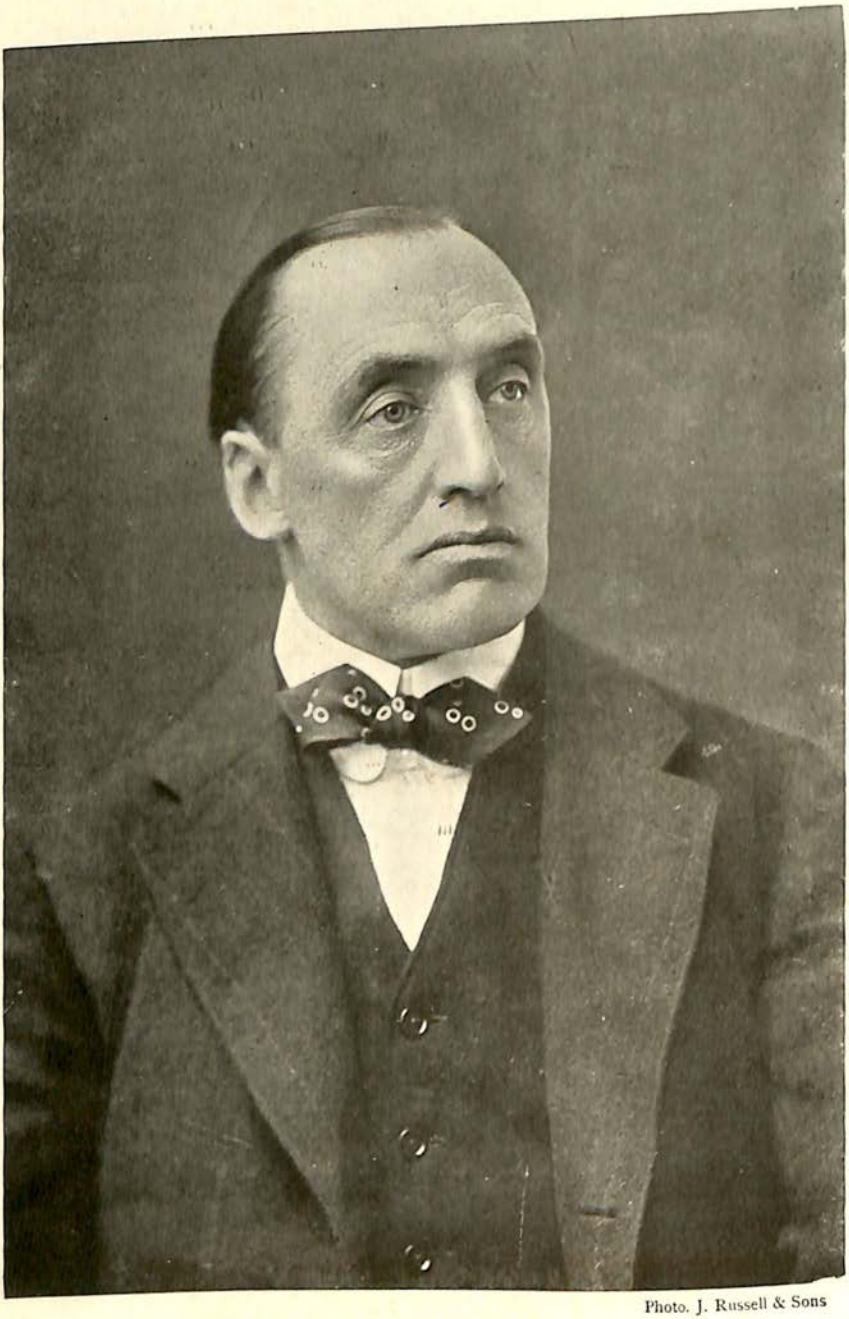


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SIR EDWARD CARSON, K.C., M.P.

THE HISTORY OF ULSTER

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

RAMSAY COLLES
LL.D. M.R.I.A. F.R.HIST.S.

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VOLUME IV

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LONDON MCMXX
THE GRESHAM PUBLISHING COY. LTD.
SIXTY-SIX CHANDOS STREET COVENT GARDEN


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HISTORY OF ULSTER

VOLUME FOUR

CHAPTER I

The Relief of Londonderry

Macaulay's Summary of Walker's Account of the Conditions in Londonderry—Fresh Victims driven under the Walls of the City—Dispute between the Irish Jacobites and their French Allies—Rosen obliged to release the Wretched Victims of his Wrath—He is recalled to Dublin—Hamilton again Commander-in-Chief—He makes an Offer to the Citizens—It is refused—Treaty for Surrender proves a Failure—Schomberg orders Kirke to make an Attempt to relieve Londonderry—Kirke grants Permission to Micaiah Browning, Master of the *Mountjoy*, to essay the Task of breaking the Boom—Andrew Douglas, of the *Phœnix*, joins in the Adventure—Both Vessels escorted by the *Dartmouth*—The *Mountjoy* breaks the Boom, the *Phœnix* is the first to reach the Quay, and the Siege is raised.

In describing the condition of Londonderry at this period of the siege it is impossible to improve on Lord Macaulay's vivid and accurate summary of Walker's account of the state of things, which he says was "hour by hour becoming more frightful. The number of the inhabitants had been thinned more by famine and disease than by the fire of the enemy. Yet that fire was sharper and more constant than ever. One of the gates was beaten in: one of the bastions was laid in ruins; but the breaches made by day were repaired by night with indefatigable activity. Every attack was still repelled. But the fighting men of the garrison were so much exhausted

that they could scarcely keep their legs. Several of them, in the act of striking at the enemy, fell down from mere weakness. A very small quantity of grain remained, and was doled out by mouthfuls. The stock of salted hides was considerable, and by gnawing them the garrison appeased the rage of hunger. Dogs, fattened on the blood of the slain who lay unburied round the town, were luxuries which few could afford to purchase. The price of a whelp's paw was five shillings and sixpence. Nine horses were still alive, and but barely alive. They were so lean that little meat was likely to be found upon them. It was, however, determined to slaughter them for food. The people perished so fast, that it was impossible for the survivors to perform the rites of sepulture. There was scarcely a cellar in which some corpse was not decaying. Such was the extremity of distress that the rats who [*sic*] came to feast in those hideous dens were eagerly hunted and greedily devoured. A small fish, caught in the river, was not to be purchased with money. The only price for which such a treasure could be obtained was some handfuls of oatmeal. Leprosies, such as strange and unwholesome diet engenders, made existence a constant torment. The whole city was poisoned by the stench exhaled from the bodies of the dead and of the half dead. That there should be fits of discontent and insubordination among men enduring such misery was inevitable. At one moment it was suspected that Walker had laid up somewhere a secret store of food, and was revelling in private, while he exhorted others to suffer resolutely for the good cause. His house was strictly examined: his innocence was fully proved: he regained his popularity; and the garrison, with death in near prospect, thronged to the cathedral to hear him preach, drank in his earnest eloquence with delight, and went forth from the house of God, with haggard faces and tottering steps, but with spirit still unsubdued. There were, indeed, some secret plottings. A very

few obscure traitors opened communications with the enemy. But it was necessary that such dealings should be carefully concealed. None dared to utter publicly any words save words of defiance and stubborn resolution. Even in that extremity the general cry was 'No Surrender'. And there were not wanting voices which, in low tones, added: 'First the horses and hides; and then the prisoners; and then each other'."

On the 3rd of July nearly 1000 persons were added to the number of the persecuted wretches driven under the walls. Many of them, contrary to orders, were taken into the garrison by their friends, and relieved with food and clothing. One of these poor fellows delivered a message from the fleet in Lough Foyle, desiring the garrison, if in dire distress, to light signal-fires on the flat roof of the cathedral, an order which was immediately complied with, the fires being kept burning brightly all night, during which some thirty bombs were thrown into the city. The besieged took the opportunity afforded by the bustle occasioned by the arrival of fresh batches of victims of Rosen's wrath to substitute 500 useless people of the city for a number of able-bodied men who were among the new arrivals. This stratagem was entirely successful, notwithstanding the suspicions of the guards, who maintained that they could distinguish the Londonderry men by the aroma which clung to their garments—a natural result arising from long confinement in the overcrowded and much-distressed city. In the meantime a promiscuous crowd of unfortunate Protestants lay in a state of extreme misery around the walls of Londonderry, and whilst many of them succumbed to famine and disease, they raised their faltering voices to their friends upon the walls, desiring them to disregard their sufferings, and to permit them to perish rather than to surrender the city.

An eye-witness tells us that "great animosities now arose in the Irish (Jacobite) camp on account of this cruel treatment

of the Protestants. The few of that persuasion in the army resented it highly, whilst almost all the Romish officers condemned it as a base device of their French allies, whom they began to detest, in resentment for the contemptuous treatment they received from them. These circumstances, with James's letter condemning the order, and above all, the view of the gallows erected on the walls of the city for the execution of the Irish prisoners, obliged Rosen, on the 4th of July, to suffer the afflicted multitude, amounting to more than 4000 in number, to depart for their respective habitations. Several hundreds of them, however, died on the spot to which they had been driven, and among them many women with child, or lately delivered; several old distressed creatures, and a great number of children. Of those who were this day liberated from durance, many died on their way home, or were knocked on the head by the soldiers, and those who got back to their former place of dwelling, found their homes either burned or plundered by Rosen's soldiers or the Irish rapparees, so that a great proportion of them afterwards perished for want of the necessaries of life." Rosen was now recalled to Dublin, and Hamilton again became Commander-in-Chief.

On the morning of the 10th, ten shells were thrown into Londonderry; some of them fell into the old church and played havoc amongst the tombs. In one of these bombs there was no gunpowder; it contained several copies of the following address:—

"To the Soldiers and Inhabitants of Derry

"The conditions offered by Lieutenant-General Hamilton are sincere. The power he hath of the King is real; be no longer imposed upon by such as tell you the contrary; you cannot be ignorant of the King's clemency towards his subjects. Such of you as choose to serve His Majesty shall be entertained, without distinction in point of religion. If

any choose to leave the kingdom they shall have passes. You shall be restored to your estates and livings, and have free liberty of religion whatsoever it be. If you doubt the powers given to General Hamilton by the King, twenty of you may come and see the patent, with freedom under the King's hand and seal. Be not obstinate against your natural Prince; expose yourselves no longer to the miseries you undergo: which will grow worse and worse if you continue to be opinionate; for it will be too late to accept of the offer now made, when your condition is so low, that you cannot resist the King's forces any longer."

No reply was made to this proposal, and the leaders of the Jacobites demanding on the day following a parley with the defenders of Londonderry, it was deemed politic to grant it. The majority of the ships by which they expected relief had sailed away, provisions were growing increasingly scarce, and to gain time was now the great object. Accordingly six commissioners were selected on each side, and a meeting was arranged to be held on Saturday the 13th. The commissioners selected to represent the city were Colonels Hugh Hamill and Thomas Lance, Captains White and Dobbin, and Messrs. Matthew Cocken and John Mackenzie—the last-named being one of the chroniclers of the siege. The Jacobites were represented by Colonels Sheldon, Gordon O'Neill, Sir Neill O'Neill, Sir Edward Vaudry, Lieutenant-Colonel Skelton, and Captain Francis Morrow.

On the 13th the commissioners, as arranged, met near the outworks of the city. They all dined together in a tent which had been pitched for the occasion, and debated till long after nightfall. The Jacobites, although they consented to all that was material in the articles proposed by the representatives of the city, would grant no longer time for the surrender than two o'clock in the afternoon of the Monday following, the 15th. They required their hostages to be

kept in the city, without being sent, as the besieged required, to the fleet; and they would not allow any, save officers and gentlemen, to retain their arms in marching out on surrender. The Londonderry commissioners returned to the garrison late in the evening, after having with great difficulty succeeded in getting until noon on the morrow as time wherein to consult with the governors before sending the reply.

The commissioners had just returned, when Governor Walker received, at the hands of a little boy, a letter from the fleet, signed by Lieutenant David Mitchell, who stated that Kirke had encamped on the island of Inch. Mitchelburn directed the usual signal to be made, and accordingly, next day, before the council met to decide on the answer to be sent to the Jacobite leaders, seven guns were fired from the Cathedral. After some debate, the council sent their answer to the Jacobite camp, stating that, unless they got until Wednesday, the 26th, in which to surrender, and that the hostages were in the meantime secured on board a vessel of the English fleet, they would not surrender; as to the manner of their marching out, that could be decided later. Such terms Hamilton durst not grant; the council would abate nothing, the treaty was broken off, and the conflict recommenced.

On the 27th the English fleet, which had sailed from Lough Swilly to the harbour of Culmore, returned to their station off the island of Inch, again severely disappointing the hope of relief which their appearance had kindled among the brave defenders of Londonderry. Just at this time Kirke received a dispatch from England, signed by General Schomberg, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the English forces in Ireland, containing imperative orders that Londonderry should be relieved. He therefore determined to make an attempt "which", says Macaulay, "as far as appears, he might have made, with at least equally fair prospect of success, six weeks earlier".

There was amongst the provision-laden merchantmen which accompanied Kirke's men-of-war one named the *Mountjoy*, a vessel called after the Viceroy of Elizabethan times. The master of this vessel was a native of Londonderry named Micaiah Browning. This man, having been born in the beleaguered city, and having relatives and friends amongst the besieged,[1] importuned the despotic and callous commander to proceed to the relief of those he himself yearned to succour. When, therefore, Schomberg's mandate arrived, he once more eagerly requested to be in the van when the attempt should be made to burst the bulwarks of the boom. Kirke, delighted to get rid of one who had become to him a pertinacious pest, readily granted his request; but, remembering that the *Mountjoy* was ill-armed, he gave orders that the merchantman should be escorted by the *Dartmouth*, a frigate of thirty-six guns, commanded by Captain John Leake, afterwards an admiral of great fame. Browning, overjoyed, hastened to communicate the good news that a movement at last was to be made, to Andrew Douglas, master of the *Phœnix*, laden with meal from Scotland, and in whose hearing he had often bemoaned Kirke's inactivity. Douglas, delighted at the prospect, decided to share his friend's adventure and assist in the work of demolishing the boom.

At sunset on Sunday the 28th, "immediately after divine service" in the Cathedral, and with Walker's solemn and earnest exhortations to fight "the good fight" still ringing in their ears and echoing in their hearts, the hunger-blackened, hollow-eyed, tottering, half-dead creatures, who nevertheless were the dauntless defenders of Derry, saw with surprise three ships in the Lough slowly approaching the city. They had been deceived before in the intentions of these vessels, and

[1] Browning was a common name in Ulster at this time. Two Brownings, William and James, signed the loyal address to King William and Queen Mary from Enniskillen, which was presented immediately after the siege of Londonderry.

now followed their movements with anxious eyes lest their joy should again be suddenly transformed into despair. But no! This time there seemed to be no doubt as to the destination of the three ships. They had come to burst the barrier that bound them to disease, despair, and death, to break through the boom and bring them bread. Bread! At the very thought of bread their sunken eyes sparkled, their hearts in their almost bloodless bodies beat with renewed and redoubled energy. Bread should be theirs shortly, and not bread alone but all the sweet simple daily necessaries of life should again be theirs! Wine, generous wine, perchance was to be had. They would no longer dwell on the horrors through which they had passed. Enough! Life once more was worth the living! The boom once broken, and with bread and meat and wine once more to sustain and cheer them, they would indeed again fight the good fight, as they had done in the past, the fight for freedom of thought and liberty of action. They had won! Victory was theirs! Neither James nor his Commanders-in-Chief could say "No!" to their "pulses' magnificent come and go"!

Some such thoughts must surely have surged through the brains of those who, fascinated by the sight, watched the fight of the three ships as they boldly sailed up to the boom, nothing daunted by the fierce attacks made on them from the forts and batteries on both sides of the river. In describing such a scene imagination may draw an impressive picture, rich in colouring and full of action, but the words of an eye-witness will be preferred by all to whom one fact is worth much fiction.

"The enemy," says one who gazed in mingled hope and fear at the scene, plied the vessels "with cannon and small shot, from both sides the river, and the ships made them good returns; but when the foremost vessel [the *Mountjoy*] came (as 'tis supposed), to the boom, she made some stop, the little wind they had while they passed the fort, entirely failing, and

a dead calm succeeding. The smoke of the shot both from the land and from the ships, clouded her from our sight, and she was (as we afterwards learned) unhappily run aground; and when the enemy, who gathered in swarms to the waterside, raised a loud huzza along the shore, telling us our ships were taken, and we perceived them both firing their guns at them and preparing boats to board them, this struck such a sudden terror into our hearts, as appeared in the very blackness of our countenances.

"Our spirits sunk, and our hopes were expiring. But this did not continue long; for the *Mountjoy*, by firing a broadside, with the help of the increasing tide, got off from the shore, and we soon perceived the ships firing at them, and advancing towards us, though but slowly, which made the enemy draw their guns from place to place after them.

"But at last they came up to the quay, to the inexpressible joy of our garrison, that was at this time reduced to that distress, that it was scarcely possible for them to subsist above two or three days longer. The first that broke or passed the boom was the *Mountjoy* of Londonderry, commanded by Captain Micaiah Browning, who was to our great regret killed by the enemy's shot; a gentleman whose memory should never be forgotten by the garrison and inhabitants of Londonderry, who generously sacrificed his own life for the preservation of theirs, and had freely offered to make this attempt sooner if the major-general (Kirke) would have permitted it. But the *Phœnix* of Coleraine, came first to the quay, Captain Andrew Douglas, master, laden with eight hundred bolls of meal from Scotland."

"This relief", says Walker, in his diary of the siege, "arrived here to the inexpressible joy and transport of our distressed garrison, for we only reckoned upon two days' life. We had only nine lean horses left, and one pint of meal to each man. Hunger and fatigue of war had so prevailed among us, that of seven thousand five hundred men

regimented at the commencement of the siege, we had now alive but about four thousand three hundred, of whom at least one-fourth part were rendered unserviceable."

The besieging army continued a heavy fire on the city from their trenches during a considerable part of the night and next day, when they were seen firing houses in the neighbourhood. They then raised the siege—having lost during the hundred and five days it occupied about 8000 men—and marched away in the direction of Strabane.

"And thus", says one who lived in the city and suffered much during this terrible time, "was the siege of Londonderry raised, to the admiration of our friends, who had given us over for lost, and to the disappointment of our enemies, who were no less confident that they should soon make themselves masters of so weak and indefensible a place. The glory of it being entirely due to the Almighty, who inspired a garrison for the most part made up of a few raw and untrained men, and those labouring under all possible discouragements, with that resolution that enabled them to defeat all the attempts of a numerous army to reduce them, their zeal and affection for the just cause they had undertaken, supplying all the defects of military discipline."

CHAPTER II

The Inniskillings

Character of James II—William, Prince of Orange, King of England—The Inniskillings apply for Aid to Kirke—He supplies them with Officers—Colonels Wolseley and Berry—The Jacobite General, Justin MacCarthy (Viscount Mountcashel), lays Siege to Crom Castle—Sarsfield threatens Ballyshannon—A Concerted Attack on Enniskillen determined on by the Jacobite Army—Mountcashel lays Siege to Lisnaskea—The Duke of Berwick defeats a Detachment of Inniskillings—Defeat of the Jacobites at Donagh—Anthony Hamilton wounded—Wolseley joins Berry with Reinforcements—They decided to advance.

Having relieved Londonderry, let us pause to consider for a moment the protagonists in this great and moving drama of which one of the most impressive scenes has just closed. Ere long the "moving shadow-shapes" upon the stage will have so greatly increased in numbers and variety that the parts they play and their motives will not be readily comprehended unless we first gain a clear impression of their leading characteristics, and learn the lines of action laid down for them by the "Master of the Show".

James, as the representative of Roman Catholicism, and as a most zealous supporter of that form of faith, has had many apologists; but these, while they accept him as a royal adherent to their creed, and as such defend his actions with ardour, display nevertheless little loyalty to either the monarch or the man. James, indeed, had the misfortune to be neither lovable nor likeable. Apart from the cause of which he was perforce the representative, he was nothing! Even the hatred with which he was regarded was more on account of the creed he professed, and the cruelty he

displayed in supporting it, than because of any personal animosity he excited. "He makes no friend who never made a foe." James was held in contempt, he was looked upon with aversion, but he never rose to the height of being regarded with hostility. In a word, by his contemporaries, with the exception of Lewis XIV (whose tool he was, and who had his own ends to serve in befriending him), he was held to be "not worth damning, nor saving, nor raising from the dead". He was dominated by a single thought: how best to save his own skin, though through sheer obstinacy he, on more than one occasion, ran perilously near endangering the policy which was his pet ideal. The horror of his father's fate never made him falter. His brother Charles, more "avid of earth's bliss", avoided any untoward action which might bear fruit in the renewal of unpleasant experiences. He had ever before his mental vision the irritating and awkward consequences of his cross-examination by the Covenanters, and the sybarite had no wish to renew the sensations which were his when, after Cromwell's "crowning mercy" at Worcester, scarcely daring to breathe, he clung to the branches of a friendly oak—

> Till all the paths were dim,
> And far below the Roundhead rode,
> And humm'd a surly hymn.

He had no desire to win, by such methods as those adopted by his sire, the title of "the martyr". He gave James the benefit of his worldly wisdom, telling him that he, for one, had no desire to set out on his travels again, and even hinted at his brother's unpopularity by saying: "No one will kill me, James, to make you King". Blind to his own interests, James was, in modern parlance, pig-headed in a superlative degree. Possessed of no power of imagination, he blundered on, no visions of the scene enacted at Whitehall rising to deflect his footsteps from the fatal downward path. The

Restoration, in his opinion, had once for all obliterated that gross insult to blood royal. Never again would that dread "two-handed engine", which strikes once and strikes no more, have the power to curtail the right of Kings to govern wrong. Destined to be the last representative in England of absolute monarchy, he proceeded to act like an absolute ass. Asinine in his pachydermatous indifference to public opinion, asinine in his purblind preference for antiquated modes of procedure, asinine in his callous disregard for everyone's interest save his own, and asinine in his domestic relationships and in his refusal to recognize the call of blood. Dead to all the sanctities of human relationships, he flaunted his mistress under the eyes of his wife; cross-questioned but did not spare his nephew condemned to death; and let the innocent Alice Lisle, whom a word from him could have saved, perish on the scaffold. But James was not wholly villainous; no "son of Adam" is. We all possess a redeeming feature. The devil, doubtless, is as black as he is painted, but even Mephistopheles sports a scarlet feather as an adjunct to his suit of sable. To his credit be it said, when approached by Avaux with the suggestion that a general massacre of the Protestants of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught would be advisable, James refused to sanction an Irish St. Bartholomew. "These people", he said, "are my subjects: and I cannot be so cruel as to cut their throats while they live peaceably under my government." Avaux persisted, but James was firm. His subjects in Ireland were not to be butchered to make an alien's holiday.

The features of William Prince of Orange have been so frequently reproduced in bronze and stone and limned on canvas that his lineaments are more readily recognized than those of any of his contemporaries; they are indeed as familiar as those of an old friend. The broad and lofty forehead; the big, curved nose; the keen eyes which lit up a somewhat cadaverous face, giving to a countenance other-

wise weak an air of command; the firm mouth and grave aspect strike the most apathetic, and it needs no Lavater to inform us that they are indicative of inflexibility of will and moral steadfastness. Of physical strength William was not a possessor. The triumph of mind over bodily weakness has rarely been better exemplified than in his case. He was asthmatic and consumptive and a martyr to severe headaches. His fragile frame was frequently shaken by a chronic cough. He never completely recovered from an attack of smallpox which had assailed him in early manhood. He suffered from breathlessness, in consequence of which he was easily fatigued. But in spite of all these maladies the force of his mind never on any great occasion failed to uphold his languid body. That strength of mind he derived from his firm belief in the doctrine of predestination. "He often declared", says Macaulay, whose portrait of William is admirable, alike for its force and its fidelity, "that, if he were to abandon that tenet, he must abandon with it all belief in a superintending Providence, and must become a mere Epicurean." Of William's courage in the field there is ample evidence. He led his troops sword in hand, and exposed himself so frequently, and with such temerity, as to draw forth the expostulations of his friends. Both friend and foe he inspired with respect. As time went on, and the austere King became better known to his British subjects, their loyalty gradually developed into almost a personal love, for courage and candour combined always win their enthusiastic admiration and support.

Such were the leaders of the opposing forces which fought for supremacy in Ireland.

Shortly after the expeditionary forces under Kirke arrived at Lough Foyle, that commander dispatched the frigate *Bonadventure* to Ballyshannon to ascertain the requirements of Enniskillen and to supply, if possible, its wants. The chief need proved to be gunpowder, and for this the main body

of the forces at Enniskillen were immediately sent to Ballyshannon. Advantage was taken of their absence by James's natural son, the Duke of Berwick, who attacked a detachment of Inniskillings and killed or took more than fifty of them. It was therefore determined on the return of the garrison, who arrived with thirty barrels of gunpowder, to send a deputation to Kirke asking for assistance.

As the enemy lay between them by land, it was decided to proceed by sea from Ballyshannon. "We had then", says one of the members of the deputation, "about seventeen troops, thirty foot companies, and some few troops of dragoons; our foot were indifferently well armed, but our horse and dragoons not so well. The major-general [Kirke] had few or no arms fit for horsemen; but he gave us six hundred firelocks for dragoons, a thousand muskets to raise more foot with, twenty barrels of powder, besides the thirty we received out of the *Bonadventure*, with bullets and match proportionable, eight small cannon, and some few hand grenades. He gave us commissions for a regiment of horse, consisting of twelve troops, another like number of private men in each troop: and for three regiments of foot, and an independent troop of horse to every regiment, each regiment of foot to consist of eighteen companies, whereof two companies to be grenadiers, and sixty private men in each company.

"The Major-General told us he could spare none of his private men, but gave us some very good officers, viz.: Colonel William Wolseley, to be our commander-in-chief and colonel of horse; Captain William Berry, to be lieutenant-colonel to our horse; Captain Charles Stone, to be major to our horse; Captain James Winn . . . then a Captain in Colonel Stewart's regiment, to be Colonel of our dragoons; and for our three regiments of foot, Gustavus Hamilton, governor of Enniskillen, was made eldest Colonel, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd and Major Tiffin were the other

two colonels. He gave us Captain Thomas Price (who has a troop of horse with us) to be our aid-major-general, and one captain Johnston, who has a foot company, to be our engineer." These officers returned with the members of the deputation to Enniskillen, arriving on the 28th of July, 1689. They received a very warm welcome, which was all the more cordial inasmuch as the Inniskillings had just heard that the Jacobite General Justin MacCarthy (Viscount Mountcashel) had not long arrived at Belturbet with a large army. News also came from Crom to the effect that MacCarthy was laying siege to that stronghold. Under these circumstances, such of the troops from Enniskillen as had remained at Ballyshannon were recalled, only as many being left as were absolutely necessary for the defence of the town, which was threatened by that gallant Jacobite, General Patrick Sarsfield, who lay near it with a very strong body of troops.

It was now determined at Dublin that a concerted attack should be made on Enniskillen. Mountcashel was to march from the east towards Lough Erne with three regiments of foot, two regiments of dragoons, and some troops of cavalry. A large force under Sarsfield, which lay encamped near the mouth of the River Drowes, was to march from the west, and the Duke of Berwick was to arrive from the north with such horse and dragoons as he could supply.

Late at night, on Monday the 29th of July, news arrived at Enniskillen that Mountcashel had detached part of his army to seize Lisnaskea, a town of some strength only a few miles distant, and this design the Inniskillings determined at all risks to frustrate, and accordingly Berry next morning set out for Lisnaskea with seven or eight troops of horse, two troops of dragoons, and about three companies of foot. Arriving at Lisnaskea before the Jacobites, he found the castle in so dilapidated a condition that it was untenable; he therefore encamped outside the town, and on the day following marched in quest of their opponents, who were reported to be encamped

some six miles away. He had not proceeded more than a couple of miles when, at Donagh, he found himself confronted by a force so far superior in number, that he deemed it advisable to make good his retreat upon Lisnaskea and send an express to Enniskillen for reinforcements.

"There are", says the chronicler of *Actions of the Inniskilling Men*, "two ways leading from Lisnaskea to Enniskillen, the one lately made through some bogs and low fenny grounds, nearer Lough Erne than the old way; and this road lieutenant-colonel Berry resolved to take, as being more secure, and several passes on it much easier to defend than the other. He had not stayed long at Lisnaskea but the enemy came near him, and then with his men he retreats by this new road (which turns off the old at the end of the town of Lisnaskea), and marched in good order, the enemy still advancing upon him, till he came about a mile distant from Lisnaskea, to a bog with a narrow causeway through it, that two horsemen could scarcely ride in abreast upon, and at the end of this causeway (which is an easy musket-shot over), Berry halted, resolving to make good that pass against the enemy until he had relief from Colonel Wolseley. There was a thicket of underwood at the end of the causeway, where Berry placed his foot and dragoons, ordering them to make good their ground; the horse he drew a little further off, promising that they should relieve the foot and dragoons, and gave the word 'Oxford'.

"They made but a very short stay there, when Colonel Anthony Hamilton (who was major-general to MacCarthy), came in view with a considerable body of men, who, alighting from his horse, ordered his dragoons to do so too, and very bravely advanced near the end of the causeway, his men firing briskly at ours, but with no great success; for it pleased God that, after a great many vollies of shot which they made at us, not one of our men was killed, and but about a dozen or fourteen of them wounded. Our men were better marksmen; they shot about a dozen of the enemy dead at the end

of the causeway, and wounded Colonel Anthony Hamilton, their leader, in the leg. He being hurt retreated a little, and mounted his horse, ordering another officer to lead on the men, who very soon was likewise killed, with some more of their men."

The Hamilton here mentioned was the brilliant author of *Zeneyde*, a man far more famous as a courtier, a lover, and a writer than as a soldier. His brother Richard, as we have already seen, was commander-in-chief of the forces besieging Londonderry.

"The enemy," continues our chronicler, "seeing their men thus drop by our shot, and their general, Colonel Hamilton, being gone a little way back, and no chief officer there to lead them on, began to retreat from the end of the causeway, which our men seeing, gave a huzza, and called out 'the rogues are running' and immediately our foot and dragoons took the bog on each hand, and our horse advanced on the causeway towards them, which the enemy perceiving, began at first to retreat a little faster from us, but their retreat soon turned to a most disorderly flight, without offering to face about, or fire any more at us. Our horse soon overtook them, and fell in among their foot, and such dragoons as were on foot, and made a very great slaughter of them, having the chase of them through the town of Lisnaskea, and near a mile further. And the execution had been greater but notice was brought to Berry that lieutenant-general Macarthy, with the body of his army, was advancing towards him; upon this he sounds a retreat, and brings back his men to the place where the fight first began, having killed about two hundred, and taken about thirty prisoners, which he sent immediately to Enniskillen, with several horse-loads of arms which he had taken from the enemy; and this action happened about nine o'clock in the forenoon."

These quaint descriptions of the fighting of that day give a better idea of what actually happened than any accounts,

however graphic, could be written years—in this case hundreds of years—after the event. The writer of the *Actions* referred to, Andrew Hamilton, was not only an eye-witness of the events he describes, but was actively engaged in several of the engagements which took place. It may here be mentioned that at this period the advanced guard was popularly known as "the forlorn hope".

Berry's men had scarcely rested themselves after this encounter, when a messenger came to say that Wolseley had arrived with reinforcements and directing him to join him. "Now Colonel Wolseley", says our historian, "had marched his men the old road from Enniskillen to Lisnaskea, leaving the new road, where Berry and his men were, about a mile on the right hand. As soon as this express came Berry marched, and both he and Colonel Wolseley, with their men, met at the same time [*sic*] near the moat, above the town of Lisnaskea, and after some kind words had passed between both parties at their meeting, Colonel Wolseley acquainted the officers that the party under his command had made so great haste to relieve the other party that few or none of them had brought a meal of meat with them, and therefore, they must speedily consider what they had to do, for either they must advance towards the enemy, and resolve to fight them that very day, or return back again to Enniskillen for want of provisions. But after the thing was debated among the officers, it was agreed on to consult the soldiers themselves, and to know their mind in the matter."

"This determination," Macaulay rightly observes, "which, in ordinary circumstances, would have been most unworthy of a general, was fully justified by the peculiar composition and temper of the little army, an army made up of gentlemen and yeomen fighting, not for pay, but for their lands, their wives, their children, and their God."

"The men", says Andrew Hamilton, "were called to their close order, and the question was asked, whether they

would advance and fight the enemy that day, or fall back upon Enniskillen. They, who had never before turned their back to the enemy, thought it dishonourable now to begin, especially after so remarkable a victory obtained that morning, and upon so unequal terms, which they took for a presage of what they might expect in the afternoon; all of them, therefore, with one acclamation, called out to advance. Colonel Wolseley and the other colonels drew up all the men in battalion, and gave them the word, 'No Popery', which was very acceptable to all our party; and then he drew out four men out of every troop, with an officer to command them, for our forlorn. Our whole number, when all were joined together, did consist of about sixteen troops of horse, three troops of dragoons, and twenty-one companies of foot, besides some that were not under command; so that in the whole party, we reckoned ourselves some more than two thousand."

The question of advance or retreat having been settled in favour of the former, Wolseley at once made his dispositions for an attack. Meanwhile Mountcashel, informed of his movements, raised the siege of Crom, and marched forward with the bulk of his army to support the division which had been so signally defeated in the morning.

CHAPTER III

Arrival of Schomberg

Battle of Newtown-Butler—The Jacobites defeated—Mountcashel wounded and taken Prisoner—The House of Commons receives the News of the Relief of Londonderry—An Irish Campaign determined on—Troops raised for Service in Ireland—Regiments commanded by La Melloniere and Cambon—The Army placed under the Command of Frederic, Count of Schomberg—He is created a Duke—Composition of his Army—The Expedition sails from the Port of Chester—It arrives in Carlingford Bay and disembarks at Bangor, County Down—Schomberg makes Belfast his Head-quarters.

The Inniskillings had no sooner resolved to advance than they heard that Mountcashel had taken up his position at Newtown-Butler, a little town a couple of miles beyond Donagh. As Wolseley approached, the Jacobites, to his great surprise, began to retire. "We had not marched above half a mile from Donagh", says our contemporary chronicler, "when our forlorn [advanced guard] came in view of the forlorn of the enemy, who immediately retreated before our men. We advanced after them till we came within about half a mile from Newtown-Butler, where there is a steep hill that the road leads through, and, before you come to the hill, there is a bog with a causeway through it, where only two men, at most, can ride in abreast. The enemy was drawn up in very good order upon the hill above the bog, and no other way had we to come at them but by the bog and causeway through it.

"When our men came near the place, our officers considered the ground, and how advantageously the enemy had posted themselves; and then Colonel Wolseley ordered

Colonel Tiffin with his battalion of foot to take the bog on the right hand of the causeway, and Colonel Lloyd with his battalion to take the bog on the left, and Colonel Wynne to divide his dragoons, and the one-half to second Colonel Tiffin on foot, and the other to second Colonel Lloyd; and he ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Berry to advance with the horse upon the causeway as the foot on each hand advanced through the bog; and he himself brought up the main body in the rear to send recruits to those that went before, as he saw cause. And thus while we advanced in good order towards the enemy, they ordered the town of Newtown-Butler and the country-houses about to be all set on fire; and before our men came within musket-shot of them they began to fire at us; but by the time that we came within shot of them, and had fired two or three volleys at them, our men saw them begin to draw off and retreat towards Newtown-Butler; which our men misapprehending, believed them running away, and our officers had much ado to keep them from pursuing with all the speed they could. But Colonel Wolseley, and the officers with them, from a height opposite to the place where the enemy was posted, saw them go off in so good order, that they believed it was either to draw our men into an ambush, or bring them to some place of better advantage for the enemy, and therefore sent orders to Colonels Tiffin and Lloyd, that no man should go out of his rank, but pursue them in good order, until they were certain that they were flying.

"Our men having received this command, advanced after the enemy, keeping their ranks; and the enemy still faced about in their rear, firing at us till we went through the town of Newtown-Butler, and near a mile past it, and thus in very good order they retreated, and we advanced, till they came to a bog on the road near half an Irish mile over, with a narrow causeway through the middle of it, by which we must pass to them; and as soon as ever the front of our men came to the bogside, they saw the enemy all drawn up on the hill

opposite to them, at the other side of the bog, having their cannon placed at the end of the causeway. Colonel Wolseley ordered our men to advance towards them as they had done before, the ground being much alike. And so Colonel Tiffin with his foot took the bog on the right, and Colonel Lloyd with his foot took it on the left hand, seconded by Colonel Wynne and his dragoons; and Lieutenant-Colonel Berry and Major Stone advanced with our horse towards the causeway. But as soon as our horse came to the side of the bog, and were beginning to come upon the causeway, the enemy fired their cannon at them, and plied them so hard, that our horse could not advance one step; but our foot and dragoons on both sides advanced by degrees upon them through the bog (the enemy still keeping their ground), till at last they came up and seized their cannons, killed all their cannoniers, and then advanced towards the body of their men, that were drawn up a little above them.

"As soon as our horse perceived that their cannons were seized by our foot, they advanced on the causeway; which the enemy's horse perceiving, they wheeled about with such dragoons as were on horseback, and fled towards Wattle-Bridge, deserting their foot. Their foot stood their ground till our men came among them; but then perceiving their own horse and dragoons fled, and ours coming up to them, they thought it no time to stay any longer, but turned their backs; and instead of going to the left hand, where they had an open country and might have made their escape, they (being strangers in the country) fled all to the right hand, through a great bog about a mile long, which leads towards Lough Erne, most of them all throwing away their arms into turf-pits. Now the country there is so full of bogs and standing pools and loughs, that there is no passing for horse but upon the road, which for the most part is all paved. Our horse followed theirs in a string, over the narrow ways from the place where the enemy had planted their cannon, to

Wattle-Bridge, which is a bridge over a branch of Lough Erne, and left a good guard of horse on the bridge to secure that pass; and about a hundred foot, under the command of Captain George Coper, were ordered to guard the cannon that we had taken. Our horse kept all the road between the two places, that not one of their foot could pass them.

"Our foot in the meantime followed theirs through the bog into a wood near Lough Erne, and gave quarter that day to few or none that they met with, unless officers; which the enemy perceiving, and having no courage to fight for their lives, they desperately took the lough in several places, to the number (as was computed) of about five hundred, and not one of them that took the water escaped drowning, but one man, who got through after a great many shots made after him. All that night our foot were beating the bushes for them, and all that their officers could do could not bring them off from the pursuit till next day, about ten of the clock, by which time scarce a man of them that took towards the lough-side escaped, but was either killed, taken prisoner, or drowned."

Thus ended the battle of Newtown-Butler, which was long remembered with pride by the Inniskillings. They were about 2500, while the Jacobite army were more than double that number. The loss on either side was even more disproportionate; for of the Jacobites, in addition to the 500 drowned in Lough Erne, about 2000 were slain, and nearly 500 more, including a great number of officers, taken prisoners; while the Inniskillings lost only about twenty men killed and some forty or fifty "ill wounded". They took seven pieces of cannon, fourteen barrels of powder, a large quantity of ammunition, and all the Jacobite drums and colours. Their victory was crowned by the capture of Mountcashel.

In the confusion that followed the flight of the Jacobite horse, Mountcashel, with some of his officers, took refuge in a wood near the spot where the cannons were planted, and

reappeared when the Inniskillings had disappeared in pursuit. They were then surprised to find themselves confronted by the guards who had been left in charge of the captured cannon. Mountcashel rashly discharged his pistol at them; whereupon the guard, who had at first supposed him and those by whom he was accompanied to belong to their own party, and would therefore have let them pass unmolested, retaliated with a discharge of musketry, which brought Mountcashel to the ground dangerously wounded. In another moment his brains would have been knocked out with the butt-end of a musket, when he was recognized and saved.

The whole party were then made prisoners and carried into Newtown-Butler, from which they were conveyed the day following, the 1st of August, 1689, to Enniskillen. Mountcashel is said to have regretted that his life was spared, for he declared that he preferred death to seeing the cause of James ruined by the cowardice of the men under his command.

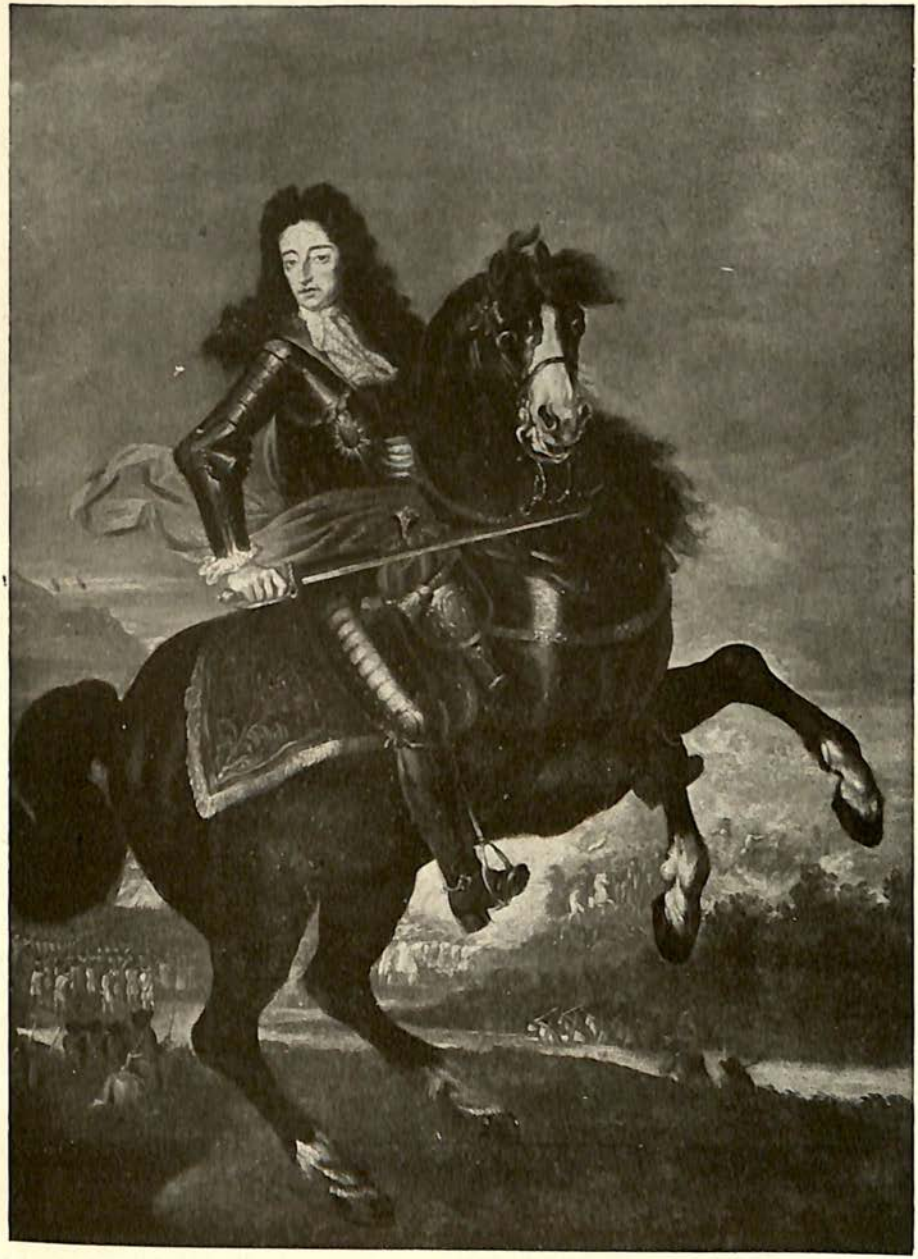
Elated by their victory, the Inniskillings determined to march against Sarsfield, who lay with his army at Bondrowes, near Ballyshannon. They started upon this new expedition on the 2nd, but on the way they were informed that Sarsfield, on hearing of Mountcashel's defeat, had fallen back upon Sligo. They returned to Enniskillen, and, hearing on their return of the raising of the siege of Londonderry, a party was dispatched to hang upon the rear of the Jacobite army in its march; but the retreat of the latter was too precipitate to allow of their doing it any injury.

The battle of Newtown-Butler was fought on the third day after the boom constructed across the Foyle was broken. At Strabane the news met the Jacobite army on its retreat from Londonderry. All was terror and confusion, the tents were struck, the military stores were flung by wagon-loads into the waters of the Mourne, and the dismayed Jacobites, leaving many sick and wounded to the mercy of the victorious

Inniskillings, fled to Omagh, and then to Charlemont. Sarsfield found it necessary to abandon Sligo, which was without delay occupied by a detachment of Kirke's troops.

The troops thus voluntarily raised formed the "first beginnings" of the celebrated regiment, the Inniskilling Fusiliers, whose achievements to-day are worthy of their great reputation. There can be little doubt that their activity, by dividing the attention of the Jacobite army in the north, materially contributed towards the preservation of Londonderry. They were now at leisure to complete their regiments, in accordance with the commissions they had received from Kirke, to enable them to take part in the campaign which William now proposed to commence in Ireland. On the 7th of August the author of the *True Relation of the Actions of the Inniskilling Men* was sent as the representative of Enniskillen to Londonderry to congratulate that city on the raising of the siege. A few days later, by Kirke's orders, a detachment of Enniskillen horse, with his own troops, proceeded to join the famous Schomberg at Coleraine.

While the House of Commons was sitting, on Saturday, the 3rd of August, a courier arrived and informed the House, greatly to the astonishment of the members, that the boom on the Foyle had been demolished. He was speedily followed by a second, who announced the raising of the siege of Londonderry; and by a third, who brought news of the victory at Newtown-Butler. The House exulted in the thought that Ulster was safe, and that with Ulster secure Ireland might yet be saved. The members had always professed an extraordinary interest in the cause of the Protestants of Ireland, and had passed several Acts for the relief of those who had arrived in England. The delay in relieving Londonderry had excited their indignation, and they had instituted an enquiry into the causes of it, and especially into the conduct of Lundy, who was now a prisoner in the Tower, and in an address to the King they had urged that he should



WILLIAM III

From the painting by Jan Wijck

be sent to Londonderry to be brought to trial before a court martial. With regard to Ireland, it was determined to send over a force proportionate to the difficulties which the reduction of the country appeared to present.

In raising troops for service in Ireland, the conclusion arrived at was that it was not advisable to employ those which had formed the English army during the reign of James, lest under any circumstances they might be induced to desert to the Jacobite side; and therefore, in accordance with an order of the Privy Council, dated the 27th of June, twenty-three new regiments were raised and completed in six weeks. The bulk of the force destined for Ireland consisted of men just taken from the plough and the threshing-floor. To these were added an excellent brigade of Dutch troops under the command of an experienced officer, the Count of Solmes. Four regiments, one of cavalry and three of infantry, had been formed out of French refugees, many of whom had borne arms with credit; and they were joined in Ireland by the Inniskillings, and by a body of 6000 Danish mercenaries. One of the Huguenot regiments of foot was under the colonelcy of the younger of the two sons of the Marquess of Ruvigny. The other two regiments of foot were commanded by La Melloniere and Cambon, officers of high reputation. This army was placed under the command of Frederic, Count of Schomberg, who had raised a regiment of horse which bore his name, and who, in recognition of his many services as the King's Lieutenant and of his great reputation, was now created a Duke, and received a grant from Parliament of £100,000.

The training and provisioning of the new troops were attended with much greater delay than the raising of them. When Schomberg arrived, on the 20th of July, at the port of Chester, the place from which he was to take his departure, he found that, though the Dee was crowded with men-of-war and transports, nothing was in readiness for his expedition. The

provisions had not been brought into the magazines; the transports and convoys were not ready; many of the regiments had not yet reached the place of rendezvous; the private soldiers were as yet unused to arms; and their officers, mostly younger sons of country gentlemen, were unaccustomed to command. After wasting a score of days in unavailing attempts to get his whole army together, the aged general determined to defer his departure no longer; and therefore, having secured 10,000 of his men, a few only of whom were cavalry, and a portion of his artillery, he set sail on the 12th of August, and next day entered Carrickfergus Bay and landed his forces, without opposition, at Bangor, in County Down, from which he proceeded to Belfast, where he established his head-quarters.

CHAPTER IV

Schomberg commences his Campaign

A Veteran Commander—Frederic, Duke of Schomberg—He lays Siege to Carrickfergus—It capitulates—He repairs to Dundalk, which is evacuated by the Duke of Berwick—A Miserable March—"Hollow Heaven and the Hurricane, and the Hurry of the Heavy Rain"—Sodden Roads and Leaden Skies—Arrival of the Inniskillings in Camp—The Duke of Berwick fires Newry and Carlingford—Schomberg encamps at Dundalk—An Unhealthy Situation—Failure of the Commissariat—Shales's Peculations—Bad Results for the Army—Fevers and "Fluxes" attack the Soldiers—James and his Followers arrive at Ardee—Their vain Attempts to draw Schomberg to Battle—A Jacobite Conspiracy discovered in Dundalk.

The Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Ireland was not a young man. His years were eighty. The strange hallucination which in our day has led us to accept half Schomberg's total of years as a period bordering on old age, and to regard a hale human being of three score as a sufferer from senile decay, had not as yet taken hold of the public mind. Instead of being requested on account of his age to retire from the army, he was welcomed by William when, after he was well over seventy, he resigned the *bâton* of a Marshal of France. So universally recognized was his military genius, and so high was he held in public esteem, that the honours "crowded thick" upon him, excited no jealousy within the army, of which he was appointed the head, while they gave widespread satisfaction to those without. He was known to be honest in speech and deed, and a great sufferer for conscience' sake, having resigned a princely income for the enjoyment of liberty of thought and

the exercise of the Protestant religion. In the popular imagination his strength was "as the strength of ten" because his heart was pure. Physically he was well fitted, despite his years, to be head of the army. Careful conservation of all his faculties in youth now enabled him at eighty to "wear his manhood hale and green", and "every cornet of cavalry envied the grace and dignity with which the veteran appeared in Hyde Park on his charger at the head of his regiment". His seat at table was as easy as his seat in the saddle; his conversation being full of charm, heightened by the fact that his courtesies were conveyed in admirable English or exquisite French. With mental and bodily powers unimpaired by years he now prepared to take the field, presenting as he did so a marvellous combination of the activity and ardour of youth and the wisdom and experience of age.

On learning of Schomberg's approach the Jacobite forces retired, the majority repairing to Carrickfergus, others to Lisburn. The reduction of the former was imperative before any hope of success in the south could be entertained; and therefore, while sending detachments to take possession of Antrim and other places abandoned by the Jacobites, Schomberg proceeded to lay siege to it. The Castle of Carrickfergus is so advantageously situated that it might have held out for months, and thus have hindered the General's progress and disarranged his plans; but no sooner had he put in an appearance before it than the governor, Colonel Charles MacCarthy More, commenced negotiations for its surrender. He began by requesting permission to send to James for leave to capitulate. This was refused, and the siege began in form, while six ships bombarded the town from the sea. He then offered to surrender on terms. This also was refused, as it had been resolved to take the garrison prisoners; but, the siege proving a tedious business, and active operation being required elsewhere, Schomberg

agreed (on 27th August), after a few days and the loss of about 150 men on each side, to permit the garrison to march out with arms and baggage, on condition that they marched under escort to the nearest Jacobite garrison. But these terms were considered by the people of the town and neighbourhood as far too indulgent. They had suffered much in many ways at the hands of the Jacobite troops, and, now assembling in great crowds, they declared that the terms of surrender had not been made with them, and proceeded to prove their words by mobbing the men who had heaped insults upon them. The garrison, perturbed and perplexed by this hostility on the part of the people, for which they were quite unprepared, were easily disarmed, hustled, and stripped, and naturally looked to Schomberg for protection. The General, having pledged his word for their safety, and anticipating a massacre of the men whom his troops were ready to escort, spurred his horse into the crowd and broke it up, partly by addressing the mob and partly by pointing his pistol at them. The result was that the Jacobites were glad to hasten away, leaving all their belongings in the hands of the townsfolk.

Immediately after the capture of Carrickfergus, supplies and reinforcements arrived from England; and on the 31st of August Schomberg reviewed his army at Belfast, prior to his departure for Dundalk, where he had decided to await the remainder of his forces and supplies.

The country between Carrickfergus and Dundalk is mountainous, and was at that time boggy. This region had often proved a place of refuge to Shane O'Neill when pursued by the English, and Schomberg at once saw that in passing through it he should be secure from cavalry or artillery, in both of which he was weak and the Jacobites strong. He therefore took with him only the lightest of his field-pieces, sending the rest of his artillery by sea to Carlingford, where he expected the arrival of transports from England. He

also sent orders for the Inniskilling horse to join him *en route.*

The six days' march from Belfast to Dundalk severely tried the spirit of the soldiers. Heavy autumnal rains and unusually stormy weather had combined to make a melancholy picture. All day the sodden roads gave place at intervals to treacherous bog, or swampy morass, which made the movements of the men a tedious plodding rather than a steady march. At night, having with difficulty discovered ground suitable on which to pitch the tents, the soldiers proceeded to erect them, battling the while with a wild wind, which, as soon as the pins were driven in, caught the canvas and whirled the tents aloft like rooks against the stormy skies. Even when shelter was secured, the ground was very damp, and, despite such precautions as could be taken, proved a prodigal source of agues, chills, and fevers. The mountain-sides, where they were not waterfalls, were slippery with rain, the paths giving foothold to neither man nor horse. Gun-carriages broke in ruts or on rocks, and the men who had dragged the mounted guns had now to carry them. There were no pack-horses, and therefore a minimum supply of provisions was carried, and this was soaked by the steady downpour. To intensify the gloom of sodden roads and leaden skies, there was no sign of life visible, human or animal. The cabins were derelict, cattle dead for days lay rotting on the roadside, and a heavy harvest recklessly wasted lay prone upon the ground in the devastated corn-lands. The most cheerful could scarcely contrive to maintain their optimism amid such surroundings. How universal was the spirit of despondency among the men may be gauged from the fact that even the Dutch, whose country, as a wit of that period remarked, "draws fifty feet of water", were despondent.

But worse was yet to come. Even the most dismal surroundings can be rendered bearable by the joy of human

companionship. Schomberg's army had come to an unknown land, to aid an unknown ally whose appearance was eagerly awaited. The fame of the Inniskillings had been noised abroad. English, French, Danes, and Dutch discussed their doughty deeds and pictured to themselves a body of men, sprucely clad, with cuirasses and accoutrements all complete. The far-famed Inniskillings arrived and created much the same impression on Schomberg's forces as Mouldy and Bullcalf and their comrades did upon the irate Falstaff, who swore he would not march with such a ragged regiment! But brave hearts beat beneath those tattered habiliments; those rugged exteriors concealed "the soul's immensity". Composed almost exclusively of gentlemen and yeomen who fought not for pay but for their country, their kin, and their God, the Inniskillings recked little what their exterior semblance might be. All they asked for they got. To be the vanguard in the fight for freedom of thought, to lead "the forlorn hope" and be the first to confront the foe; but the strict discipline of a regular army suited but ill with the wild daring which had characterized the desultory warfare in which hitherto they had been engaged. This discouraged them, and made them less useful as auxiliaries than otherwise they might have been; for had they been permitted to fight under the conditions to which they had been accustomed, they would, undoubtedly, have prevented some of the destructive ravages which attended the methods of warfare adopted by the followers of James. It should not be forgotten that these men were animated by the religious spirit, and therefore they may from a modern point of view be regarded by some as fanatics. It is difficult for us—

> Light half-believers of our casual creeds,

to comprehend the intensity of their zeal. It can only be fully realized by those who have studied religious emotion in its many manifestations, whether Christian or Moslem,

whether it results in a massacre of St. Bartholomew in Europe or a Mutiny in India.

The Duke of Berwick, who was in command of the Jacobite forces in Ulster, caused Newry to be fired, and also set fire to Carlingford. Schomberg, indignant at these barbarities, which threatened to hamper the movements of his army, sent a trumpet to Berwick, warning him that if these atrocities were continued, he would retaliate by giving no quarter to the Jacobites or their allies who might fall into his hands. This remonstrance appears to have produced the desired effect, for on the 7th of September, as Schomberg approached, Berwick abandoned Dundalk without injuring the town, and fell back upon Drogheda. Here, on the 10th, the royal standard of James was unfurled on the tower, and beneath it were soon collected 20,000 fighting-men, "the infantry generally bad, the cavalry generally good, but both infantry and cavalry full of zeal for their country and their religion". As usual, there was a crowd of camp-followers armed with scythes, half-pikes, and long knives called "skeanes".

By this time Schomberg had reached Dundalk and established his camp about a mile to the north of the town, with the mountains of Newry on the east, the town and river on the south, and low hills and bog-land on the north. The situation was most unhealthy, and the army soon began to suffer severely from dysentery. It was dangerous to advance farther through the open country, where he was liable to be overwhelmed by superior numbers. Many of his men had died on the road, stricken down by hardships and disease, and his camp was crowded with the sick.

King James and his Court at Dublin were thrown into consternation by news of Schomberg's progress. They appear to have been misinformed as to his condition and numbers, and, in the belief that resistance would be useless, Rosen proposed to abandon Drogheda and Dublin and hold the passage of the Shannon till the reinforcements which

Melfort had been sent to France to secure had arrived. This idea Tyrconnell opposed as pusillanimous and impolitic, and lashed the King up to such a pitch of enthusiasm that James declared he would not disgrace himself by leaving his capital without a struggle. Tyrconnell rushed to Drogheda, where he encouraged the army by announcing that some ten thousand were on the way to reinforce them. About that number were, in fact, drawn from the south and sent to Drogheda, where the complete force now presented a formidable barrier to Schomberg's further progress. When Rosen heard that Schomberg lay idle, he exclaimed that he was certain that the commander lacked something, and ordered his forces to advance immediately towards Dundalk. But Schomberg was so strongly entrenched that it proved impossible to force him to fight.

Rosen was right when he concluded that Schomberg's inactivity was the result of his lacking something. He lacked much. In fact there was little which he was not in want of. In the first place, he found that "not one in four of the English soldiers could manage his piece at all". He therefore set himself assiduously to drill those new levies which formed the greater part of his army, ordering the musketeers to be constantly exercised in firing. In the second, the commissariat had been not only disgracefully neglected, but had obviously been placed in the hands of dishonest persons. For this the Commissary-General was to blame. Henry Shales had held the same post under James which he now held under William, a fact he owed to his expert knowledge. His speciality appears, however, to have been peculation, and he proved his ability in the art of stealing by the condition of Schomberg's army, whose supplies could scarcely have been worse. In every department barefaced robbery was visible. The meat was bad, the stimulants undrinkable. Tents and clothing were rotten, and muskets broke in two like dry twigs. Shoes were charged to and paid for by the

Treasury, but the army went barefoot. Even horses purchased with the public money were hired out for private gain, and the troops in Ulster left without. To these ills may be added those which arose from sickness. The men, deprived of ordinary comforts, supplied with bad food, scantily clothed, and lodged in a damp situation, suffered much from the heavy autumnal rains which made the camp a swamp. They had surgeons provided against the accidents and mishaps of warfare, but with no means wherewith to fight the fluxes and fevers which made Dundalk one vast hospital. Some troops arriving from Londonderry only made matters worse by introducing into the camp the contagion of an infected city.

Such was the condition of Schomberg's army when the Jacobites, to the number of 40,000 men, appeared on the adjacent hills, and encamped in a position which combined comparative salubrity with perfect safety. James, who retained in his own hands the chief command of his army, arrived to direct the operations of this formidable force, and his officers vainly endeavoured to provoke Schomberg's forces to fight, sometimes attacking the outposts in the hope of drawing out the main body to their defence, and at other times approaching the lines and taunting the soldiers as cowards. The anxiety of the Jacobites to engage was shown on the 21st of September, when their whole army, with James at their head, and the royal standard displayed, marched direct to the camp at Dundalk and challenged their opponents to battle.

Schomberg awaited their approach with imperturbable coolness: he gave orders that no guns should be fired until the Jacobites came within musket-shot, and his only reply to the officers, who impatiently applied for orders to engage, was: "Let them alone; we shall see what they will do." When they continued their advance as though they intended to storm the camp, he sent orders to his cavalry to return from foraging on an appointed signal, and he gave the command

that the foot regiments should stand to their arms. The ardour of his troops was excited in an instant, and even the sick arose and assumed their arms with alacrity; but James suddenly withdrew and repaired to Ardee. He appears to have reckoned upon treachery rather than on force, for on the day following a conspiracy was discovered in Dundalk to betray it to the Jacobites. It appears that if Schomberg had been weak enough to yield to the importunity of those who wished him to give battle, several French companies would in the heat of the action have fired at their comrades and gone over to James's cause. Six of the conspirators were executed without delay, and about 200 were disarmed and sent in irons to England. The Jacobites complained of the King's irresolution, Rosen expressing the opinion that if James had ten kingdoms he would lose them all.

CHAPTER V

An Inactive Army

Activities of the Inniskillings—Schomberg's Soldiers attacked by Influenza —Devastations of the Disease—The Jacobites also suffer—Heavy Losses on both Sides—Removal of the Army—Schomberg fixes his Head-quarters at Lisburn—The Battle of Cavan—Victory of the Inniskillings—7000 Danish Mercenaries arrive commanded by the Duke of Wurtemberg—Charlemont, after a Brave Defence, surrenders to Schomberg—Walker of Londonderry visits London—His Great Popularity—Received by King William—Presented with £5000—Petitions Parliament on Behalf of the Families of those who fell in the Defence of Londonderry—Grant of £10,000 for the Purpose—The Arrival of William expected in Ulster.

The energetic volunteers at Enniskillen were not idle while their comrades remained entrenched in Schomberg's camp. Sligo, the key to Connaught, was taken from the Jacobites by surprise; and about a thousand Inniskillings subsequently attacked a superior force, which was marching with a view to recover the town, and defeated them. Later, Sligo as well as Jamestown were retaken by Sarsfield. These reverses added to the gloom which hung over the camp at Dundalk when the distress of the army increased daily. The arrival of the fleet at Carlingford with provisions did little towards raising the spirits of the soldiers, who, forced to remain in a state of inactivity, and camp on marshy ground, sickened and died in great numbers. The autumnal rains of Ireland are usually heavy, and this year they proved to be heavier than usual. The whole country was deluged, and the camp became a quagmire. The bad provisions supplied by the commissariat aggravated the condition of things. The sickness which attacked the soldiers appears, from many of its

symptoms, to have closely resembled what is now known as influenza, a disease which, on its earliest appearance in Russia, devastated that and other European countries, attacking even horses with fatal results. That influenza has lost its terrible strength of late years is due to the fact that its attacks have been met by a better-equipped medical science and the inoculation resulting from successive epidemics. The soldiers in Schomberg's camp sickened and died by hundreds. All the symptoms, as we have stated, point to influenza. "Even those", says Macaulay, "who were not stricken by the pestilence were unnerved and dejected, and instead of putting forth the energy which is the heritage of our race, awaited their fate with the helpless apathy of Asiatics. . . . Exertion had become more dreadful to them than death. . . . Nobody asked and nobody showed compassion. . . . When the corpses were taken away to be buried the survivors grumbled. A dead man, they said, was a good screen and a good stool. Why, when there was so abundant a supply of such useful articles of furniture, were people to be exposed to the cold air and forced to crouch on the moist ground."

Schomberg, in the hope of alleviating the condition of his men, sent innumerable messengers to the coast to inform him as early as possible of the arrival of assistance, and he wrote many of his admirably pithy dispatches to England to press his claims to attention, and, indeed, so great was his anxiety that he on one occasion went himself to Carlingford. At last some regiments arrived from England and Scotland, but they were not numerically strong enough to supply his losses, to conceal which from the Jacobite camp, as well as not to damp the spirits of the new arrivals, the General ordered the usual honours of firing at the burial of officers to be discontinued. His troops, however, became more and more despondent, and for this very reason caught the infection more rapidly. When at length Schomberg gave orders to erect huts as a

shelter against the inclemency of the weather, and to cover the wet earthen floors with a thick carpet of bracken, they had hardly the energy required to carry out his directions. Many of the sick were sent by the vessels which lay off the coast to Belfast, where a huge hospital had been prepared. But hardly half of them lived to get there. More than one ship lay in Carrickfergus Bay without a living soul on board, its sole freight consisting of dead bodies, "unknelled, uncoffined, and unknown", but which had but lately been the living forms of some of Schomberg's soldiers.

Meanwhile the Jacobites, finding it impossible to draw their opponents from their strong entrenchments, sat down to watch them, and became themselves the victims of influenza. Thus the two camps presented the same picture of misery and distress, until in November the rains became so intolerable that both armies were compelled to retire to better quarters. The Jacobites, being masters of the country to the south, sent away their sick gradually in small parties, and thus the extent of their losses was less apparent than those of William's following. The movements of the latter now proved how great had been the devastation wrought by disease and death. As the huts and tents were taken down, the whole camp presented the appearance of an open-air hospital, the army appearing to consist solely of the sick and those attendant upon them. The commissariat had so neglected their duties that the number of wagons was inadequate to the demand. Many men had to struggle along on foot supported by their companions; others reeled on their way like drunkards. Many were left behind, as there was no ambulance in which to convey them. Others refused to be moved, declaring that they would rather face death than be carried to encounter the dangers and difficulties of a long journey. Those who were sent by sea complained that they were called upon to leave ills they knew of to meet those as yet unknown.

Stern warrior though he was, and familiar with all the horrors of war, Schomberg was touched by the sad condition of his men. He ordered his superior officers to attend like corporals and sergeants upon the ambulance-wagons; and in order to see that his commands were carried out in the spirit in which he meant that they should be, the veteran commander, although suffering himself from ague, stood for hours exposed to rain and cold on the bridge of Dundalk, watching the long line of wagons pass in sight of the army, all the while personally thanking the sick for their services, cheering and encouraging them under their sufferings, and reprimanding any officer who paid less attention or exhibited less compassion than he did himself.

The soldiers, sick as they were, readily responded to this practical sympathy of their General, and forgot the cause of their discontent. A small body of Jacobite horse being seen, and a report being spread that their lines were threatened, those still in health hastened to the rear to defend the camp, whilst even the sick, forgetting their condition, called for arms, shouting: "The rogues shall pay before we leave the wet quarters in which they have kept us so long!"

The alarm, however, proved to be false, and despondency returned as the soldiers continued their march, stopping at intervals to lift the corpse of one of their comrades from a wagon to leave it by the roadside, the vacant place of the dead man being filled by one about to die. Some of the soldiers, unable to endure the jolting of the springless wagons, threw themselves out, imploring those about them to carry them on stretchers or put them out of their misery. It was computed that of 15,000 men, who at different times entered the camp at Dundalk, no fewer than 8000 perished from exposure or disease; and it is said that the loss of the Jacobites in this campaign of disease was not much less. The survivors of Schomberg's army were quartered for the winter in the towns and villages of Ulster, the General fixing

his head-quarters at Lisburn, and devoting his attention entirely to the provisioning and comfort of his men.

Towards the close of January, 1690, Schomberg was informed that the Jacobites were collecting about Dundalk with the object of disturbing his frontier garrisons. The General collected a section of his forces and marched to the district threatened, only to discover that the movement was in another direction. It appeared that a large force had assembled at Cavan in order to drive Wolseley from Belturbet, which he had taken on the 12th of December, and which had been fortified by the Inniskillings, and by them made a strong advanced garrison.

On the 12th of February, in the evening, 300 horse and dragoons and 700 foot, under the command of Wolseley, marched out of Belturbet to surprise, before morning, the Jacobites in Cavan; but accidents and other causes so delayed them that it was daylight before they reached their destination. Thus it happened that Wolseley was surprised; for the Inniskillings, who had miscalculated the numbers of their opponents, found themselves confronted by an army of 2000, under the Duke of Berwick, drawn up in battle array, and eager to fight.

The battle of Cavan, which has been but slightly noticed by historians, is minutely described in the Plunket MS. From this it would appear that Berwick, on Wolseley's arrival, "being alarmed and not well prepared, drew his men out of the town to an open ground, by which he gave an advantage to the enemy, who, seeing their position, placed their foot between the hedges of the avenues of the town, and took the defensive. The [Jacobite] forces being divided into two wings, assaulted the [Inniskillings] within their fences. The charge being given and maintained smartly, a party of the [Jacobite] horse broke another of the enemy's; but the left wing of the royalists being so overcome with fighting that they were forced to retire into a fort that was near them,

the right, fighting at the like disadvantage, retreated also thither, by which the rebels gained the field. Of the royal party there were about 200 killed, amongst whom was brigadier Nugent, much regretted for his bravery. So were adjutant Geoghegan and Captain Stritch, and a few other officers. There were ten officers made prisoners, of which were Captain Netterville, Captain Daniel O'Neill, Captain O'Brien, and Captain George M'Gee. Of the enemy there were slain Trahem, Captain Armstrong, Captain Mayo, and near fifty private men, and about sixty wounded. Brigadier Wolseley returned to his own quarters, having first burnt the town of Cavan, not being able to keep it because the castle was in the possession of the Irish."

This account differs somewhat from another, which states that Wolseley's victorious forces rushed into the town of Cavan, and were engaged in plundering it when the Jacobites, who had fled to the fort as stated, sallied out to renew the engagement. Wolseley could only recall his men by setting fire to the town, but they completed their victory by defeating the Jacobites with considerable slaughter. With Cavan were burnt the provisions with which it was stored. A day or two later a party of Schomberg's men made a successful incursion into the Jacobite quarters in the vicinity of Dundalk, doing much mischief and returning laden with plunder. These successes served to raise the spirits of their comrades considerably.

Early in March, 1690, 7000 Danish mercenaries landed at Belfast under the command of Charles Frederick, Duke of Wurtemberg, to augment Schomberg's forces, while about a fortnight later the Count de Lauzan landed at Kinsale with 5000 French foot, sent to aid King James.

Schomberg's attention was now drawn to Charlemont, one of the strongest Jacobite fortresses in Ulster, which was held by Teige O'Regan with a resolute garrison. The fort appeared so strong and well provided that the General

did not venture to attack it, but it was closely watched by Caillemote, who commanded the Huguenot regiments posted near it on the Blackwater. As the spring opened, the fort was more closely invested. O'Regan defended it with obstinate bravery, and, when called upon to surrender, declared that "the old knave Schomberg shall never get this castle!"

On the 2nd of May a detachment of 500 men, under Lieutenant-Colonel MacMahon, sent to the relief of Charlemont, were permitted to enter the fort with a small quantity of ammunition and provisions. It was soon found that this addition to the garrison only served to hasten the famine which threatened it, and MacMahon and his men attempted to leave, but were repeatedly driven back with slaughter. O'Regan, angered at their failure, swore that if they could not find their way out he would not provide for them inside, and they were therefore obliged to take up their quarters on the counterscarp and dry ditch within the palisades. The distress of these men and of the garrison soon became so acute that O'Regan, driven to the last extremity by starvation, was forced to parley. At length, on the 14th of May, the fort was surrendered on honourable terms, the garrison, consisting of 800 men, being allowed to march out with arms and baggage, and with them about 200 women and children. As an instance of the extremities to which they were reduced, we are told by Story that only a few fragments of decayed food were found in the fort, and that some of the men as they marched out "were chawing pieces of dry hide with the hair on". Schomberg humanely directed that at Armagh a loaf of bread should be given to each man. On entering Charlemont, the last important fort which the Jacobites occupied in Ulster, it was found to be well stored with arms and ammunition.

Intense popular interest in Irish affairs was excited in England by a visit paid at this time to London by George

Walker, the clerical governor of Londonderry. He was the hero of the moment with a nation which does not as a rule become enthusiastic over Irishmen. Although the Society paper was then a thing unknown, news-letters describing his personal appearance and his walk and conversation were circulated all over the country. His features were to be seen in every print-shop. Broadsides of prose and verse written in his praise were cried in the streets of London. He could not move without being followed by a crowd of admirers. Both Cambridge and Oxford offered him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was graciously received at Hampton Court by the King, who, when presenting him with an order for £5000, observed: "Do not think, Doctor, that I offer you this sum as payment for your services. I assure you that I consider your claims on me as not at all diminished." He received the thanks of the House of Commons by the mouth of the Speaker, who charged him to tell those who had fought under him that their fidelity and valour would always be held in grateful remembrance; and when he further petitioned the House for some relief for the families of those who had perished during the siege, and for the clergy of Londonderry, the House without delay resolved to present an address to the King requesting that £10,000 might be granted for the purpose.

It had been well known for some time that William intended to conduct the campaign in Ireland in person, and his advent was now impatiently awaited by his army and adherents in Ulster. The announcement, therefore, on the 4th of June, that the King had set out on his journey, was received with signs of unusual rejoicing.

CHAPTER VI

King William in Ulster

King William lands at Carrickfergus—He drives to Belfast—Receives a Warm Welcome—He goes to Lisburn—James marches North—William assembles his Forces at Loughbrickland—He encamps near Newry—James advances to Dundalk—He recrosses the Boyne and encamps—William arrives within Two Miles of Drogheda, and encamps also—He is fired on by the Jacobites and wounded—The Composition of his Army.

The King, having set out on his journey to Ireland on the 4th of June, arrived on the 8th at the port of Chester, where a fleet of transports and a squadron of men-of-war, the latter under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, awaited his arrival. On the 11th he embarked, attended by Prince George of Denmark, who had offered his services, and had equipped himself at great charge; the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt; the young Duke of Ormonde, the Earls of Oxford, Scarborough and Manchester, the Count de Solmes, Major-General Mackay, and other persons of distinction; and on Saturday afternoon, the 14th, he landed at Carrickfergus, where he was received with every expression of the general joy at his appearance. But William, though he was not insensible to the loyal fervour his presence awakened, was one of the most practical of men. His first duty he considered was to consult Schomberg and then to review his forces, and accordingly no sooner had he landed than he was in the saddle and on the road to Belfast. At the White House, halfway between Carrickfergus and Belfast, the King was met by Schomberg, the Duke of Wurtemberg, Kirke, and other

officers, and, entering Schomberg's carriage, he drove to Belfast, where he was warmly welcomed with shouts of "God bless the Protestant King".

The Belfast of that day was but a small place, consisting of only five streets, ill paved and dirty, the houses being small and uncomfortable. The castle, which had been the seat of Baron Chichester of Belfast, who had rebuilt and transformed it into "a dainty stately palace", was prepared for the reception of the King, who was welcomed at the North Gate of what is described as "the very large town the greatest for trade in the north of Ireland" by the magistrates and burgesses in their robes of office, and signals of His Majesty's arrival were transmitted through the adjacent country by a royal salute fired from Belfast castle and by the discharge of cannon placed at wide intervals for the purpose of conveying intelligence from post to post. In addition, bonfires on the heights of Antrim and Down, which could be seen across the bays of Carlingford and Dundalk, conveyed news to friend and foe alike that William was in Ireland. On Monday the 16th the nobility, clergy, and gentry of Ulster congregated in Belfast, and an address of the northern clergy to the King was presented by Walker and was graciously received.

Having heard that a French fleet had sailed for England to support the intrigues of those who were disaffected to his government, his political interests, combined with his military genius, urged the King to prosecute a rapid and vigorous campaign, and the spirit of their leader was soon infused into all who acted under him. Having issued proclamations against rapine, violence, and injustice, and prohibited pillaging under severe penalties, William busied himself in collecting forces. He had come provided with all the sinews of war, having brought with him £200,000 in specie, a large quantity of ammunition, and a substantial supply of provisions. Supplies were dispensed with a liberal hand, and all paymasters received orders to send in their accounts without delay, so that

there might be no discontent with regard to arrears. The Paymaster-General who accompanied the King was Thomas Coningsby, M.P. for Leominster.

Having given orders for the entire army to take the field, William left Belfast on the 19th of June, 1690, and proceeded to Lisburn and Hillsborough, and while here he authorized the Collector of Customs at Belfast to pay annually £1200 to trustees for the benefit of the dissenting ministers of Down and Antrim, a sum awarded for their loyalty to the royal cause and in compensation for the losses they had sustained thereby. This grant was later inserted in the Civil List, and made payable by the Exchequer. This donation, known as *Regium Donum*, was increased in 1785 and 1792, and was annually bestowed by the Government on the Presbyterian clergy of Ulster, until the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland.

On the 16th of June James left Dublin to march against his adversary with an army of about 20,000 men, imperfectly disciplined and scantily supplied with even the most necessary requirements for a campaign. He had many brave officers; his French division was composed of first-rate troops, well equipped and well appointed; the Irish horse were admirable, but the dragoons were not so well trained; the Irish infantry consisted for the most part of raw levies, scarcely half armed; and for artillery he was only able to take with him twelve field-pieces with which he had recently been provided by France.

William, who was never so happy as when he was in camp or took the field, was indefatigable in his efforts to raise the spirits of the soldiers and make them forget the calamities of the past year. His forces were ordered to assemble at Loughbrickland, and to prepare for an immediate advance, for he was fully determined to take the earliest opportunity to fight. When Schomberg and several other officers recommended caution and delay, he answered decisively: "I came not to Ireland to let grass grow under my feet". He

joined the army at Loughbrickland on the 22nd of June, and immediately ordered the troops to change camp, with a view to make their march to new ground partake of the nature of a review. The day was windy and dusty, and some of his officers thought that the King, who suffered from weak lungs, would review the troops from a distance and thus escape the dust raised by their march. William, however, did not content himself with a perfunctory inspection, but rode in among the regiments, inspected the troops severally as well as collectively with a critical eye, and, with a few grave words addressed to each regiment, greatly raised the spirits of his men. He then took up his residence in the camp in a little wooden structure specially designed for the purpose by Wren, and the men, elated by having the King in their midst, boasted that once encamped amongst them their leader never left them until he left the country.

In camp the King lived a life of Spartan simplicity, refusing to sign an order for wine, saying he would drink water as his soldiers did. From early morning until late in the day he was in the saddle inspecting his men, or taking the lie of the country so as to be prepared for action at any moment. There was a healthy activity in his movements which affected his men for good, and led to a wholesome spirit of emulation by which the entire army of 36,000 men greatly benefited. The King, in addition, wisely caused the fleet to accompany the southward movement of the army, hugging the coast the while. Thus from time to time it was visible to the troops, to whom it proved the source of not a little satisfaction.

James advanced to Dundalk, while William was encamped a few miles beyond Newry; and, in order to ascertain the strength of his opponent, James dispatched, on the 22nd of June, Colonel Dempsey, with sixty horse, and Lieutenant-Colonel FitzGerald, with a party of grenadiers, to lie in wait for one of William's reconnoitring-parties. This duty was so well performed by the Jacobite forces that a detachment

of between two and three hundred of William's foot and dragoons was routed with great loss at the half-way bridge between Dundalk and Newry. An English officer, who was taken prisoner, represented William's army as 50,000 strong; and although this was supposed by James to be a gross exaggeration, intended to have the effect of inducing him to fly, he nevertheless wrote privately to Sir Patrick Trant, Commissioner of Inland Revenue, ordering him to have a vessel at Waterford ready to convey him to France in case of disaster, and he even sent his luggage to Waterford to be put on board. James now commenced his retrograde movement and retired to Ardee. When, therefore, William's advanced guard reached Dundalk, nothing was to be seen of the Jacobite army save a great cloud of dust which was slowly rolling southwards. The Jacobites retreated by easy marches, and on the 28th commenced recrossing the Boyne, on the right bank of which James resolved to make a stand, because, as he tells us in his *Memoirs*, had he left the passage open to William, he would have been obliged to abandon all Leinster to him.

William continued to push forward till, on Monday morning, the 30th of June, 1690, his army, marching in three columns, came within two miles of Drogheda, and, at about nine o'clock, within sight of the enemy's camp. Here the King, who rode at the head of his advanced guard, observed a hill to the west of the town, near the southern frontier of the County Louth, and to the summit of this he went with some of his principal officers to obtain a fuller view of the Jacobite position. This had been well chosen, on ground which sloped down to the river, and backed by an amphitheatre of hills. The Jacobite army was encamped on the declivity of the hill of Donore, with its right wing towards Drogheda, and its left extending in two lines up the river to a morass which was difficult to pass. As there are no considerable inequalities in the surface, the whole of James's lines must have been visible from the heights on the opposite side of the river, and to a

great extent exposed to the fire of William's artillery. James's centre was at the hamlet of Oldbridge, close to the bank of the river, where he caused some entrenchments to be hastily thrown up to defend the principal fords, of which there are four near this point, a fifth being a little lower down the stream, and two or three others a few miles higher up in the direction of Slane. There are two islands in the river near Oldbridge which facilitate the passage; and at that season—which was remarkable for drought—and at the time of low water the Boyne was fordable throughout a great part of its course. James himself took up his position at a small ruined church on the top of the hill of Donore, three miles behind which lay the village and pass of Duleek, which afforded him the only means of retreat in case of defeat, and which was so narrow that it could be defended with ease. Drogheda, which was garrisoned by Jacobites, was at that time only a knot of narrow, crooked lanes encircled by a ditch and a mound. The houses were built of wood, with high gables and projecting upper storeys.

While his army marched into camp, William, desirous to gauge more closely the strength of the Jacobite army, rode with some of his officers within musket-shot of the river, opposite one of the fords. Having conferred here for some time with them, the King continued his course westward, and after a while he seated himself on the grass on a piece of rising ground in order to take some refreshment. The Jacobite generals, Berwick, Sarsfield, and Tyrconnell, had observed his movements as they rode slowly along the opposite bank of the river, and they noted the spot where William had seated himself. They now ordered two field-pieces, concealed by a party of horse, to be brought into a ploughed field opposite William's resting-place, and trained from behind a hedge on the King and his attendants. When, after being seated for about an hour, William rose and was in the act of mounting his horse, both guns were discharged, one killing a man and

two horses in a line with the King, but at a little distance from him; the other grazed William's right shoulder, tore his coat, and slightly wounded him. This naturally caused some commotion in the immediate surroundings of the royal party, which resulted in a report in the Jacobite camp that the Prince of Orange was killed, a report which even penetrated via Dublin to Paris before it was contradicted. The two guns continued to fire on the party of horse which attended William's movements, until he directed them to retire under shelter of the hill, while he himself had his wound dressed; which being done, he remounted and rode through the camp to assure the army of his safety.

That army consisted of some 36,000 men of various nationalities, the composite parts of which it was composed being so admirably summarized by Macaulay that his description of it may here be given: "About half the troops were natives of England. Ormonde was there with the Life Guards, and Oxford with the Blues. Sir John Lanier, an officer who had acquired military experience on the Continent, and whose prudence was held in high esteem, was at the head of the Queen's regiment of horse. . . . There were Beaumont's foot, who had in defiance of the mandate of James, refused to admit Irish Papists among them, and Hasting's foot, who had, on the disastrous day of Killiecrankie, maintained the military reputation of the Saxon race. There were the two Tangier battalions, hitherto known only by deeds of violence and rapine. . . . Two fine English regiments, which had been in the service of the States General, and had often looked death in the face under William's leading, followed him in this campaign, not only as their general, but as their native King. . . . The former was led by an officer, who had no skill in the higher parts of military science, but whom the whole army allowed to be the bravest of all the brave, John Cutts. The Scotch footguards marched under the command of their countryman James Douglas. Conspicuous among

the Dutch troops were Portland's and Ginkell's Horse, and Solmes's Blue regiment, consisting of two thousand of the finest infantry in Europe. . . . A strong brigade of Danish mercenaries was commanded by Duke Charles Frederic of Wurtemberg. . . . Among the foreign auxiliaries were a Brandenburg regiment and a Finland regiment. . . . Mitchelburne was there with the stubborn defenders of Londonderry and Wolseley with the warriors who had raised the unanimous shout of 'Advance' on the day of Newton Butler. Sir Albert Conyngham . . . had brought from the neighbourhood of Lough Erne a regiment of dragoons which still glories in the name of Enniskillen."

Such were the elements of which William's army was composed. Early in the afternoon of the 30th, his artillery having arrived, batteries were planted, and the cannonading was kept up on both sides of the river until night, little damage on either side being done.

CHAPTER VII

The Battle of the Boyne

The Vacillation of James—He holds a Council of War, and finally decides to fight—Nevertheless he sends Six of his Twelve Field-pieces to Dublin—William's Council of War—Duke Schomberg overruled—His Chagrin—Tuesday, the 1st of July, 1690—William's Orders for forcing the Passage of the Boyne—Both James and William neglect to secure the Bridge of Slane—Count Schomberg forces the Passage at Rossnaree—Sir Neil O'Neill is slain—The Order of Crossing and how the Jacobites received William's Forces—Death of Caillemot—Duke Schomberg plunges into the Fight unarmed—He is killed—Walker of Derry is shot dead—William heads the Inniskillings—The Jacobites retreat—Flight of King James to Dublin.

The strongly pronounced contrast between the characters of the two commanders in the conflict in Ulster was never more evident than on the eve of battle. Vacillation, which was a marked characteristic of James, now became painfully and disconcertingly evident to his generals. He held a council of war, at which it was again recommended to retreat to the Shannon, and gain time by protracting the war, rather than risk all upon one contest; and James, feeling himself to be far from master of his fate or captain of his soul, was perturbed by conflicting opinions, he himself being much in favour of a project which had originated with his French allies. It was known that the French fleet was on the English coast—in fact, on this very day (June the 30th) it had defeated the united English and Dutch squadrons off Beachy Head—and that Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the squadron of men-of-war which had attended William on his passage, had



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From a contemporary print

received orders to join the Earl of Torrington. The English transports in Carrickfergus Bay, on which William's army depended for provisions and stores, were thus left unprotected, and it was proposed to send ten small frigates and twelve privateers, who had accompanied the French troops, under Lauzun, and were still at Waterford, to destroy them. A defeat such as this, it was considered, would disconcert the forces of William, and, by leaving them dependent on the country through which they marched, would soon demoralize them to such an extent that a protracted campaign must inevitably prove a failure. These considerations, however, gave way before the fact that they were now face to face with the foe, and it was too late to retreat. Then, remembering the strength of their position, the Jacobite generals resolved to await the morrow and the morrow's deeds.

Not so James, who by his lack of determination and his hesitancy appeared to be resolved to destroy any hope of success which his army cherished. One moment he decided on a general retreat, and for that purpose ordered the camp to be raised; but the next minute he altered his plan, and, sending off the baggage and six of his twelve field-pieces to Dublin, he apparently made up his mind to risk a battle. The removal of the baggage was no doubt a good preparation for an orderly retreat, but it was also a plain intimation to the army that a retreat was in contemplation; otherwise the reduction of the artillery must be considered a fatal diminution of strength. James indeed seems to have thought of nothing so much as means whereby to keep open a passage in the rear; and all his anxiety appears to have been lest William's forces should by a flank movement cut off his retreat to the south, where he had already privately made preparations for his flight to France. It is evident, also, that he resolved to place himself in such a position during the battle that he would be one of the first to see on which side fortune turned, so that in case of defeat he might with ease make good his escape. Still, with such

apprehensions, it is strange how difficult it proved to persuade him to take any precautions for the defence of the fords up the river; for late on the eve of the battle he could only be induced with much difficulty to send Sir Neil O'Neill with his regiment of dragoons to defend the Pass of Rossnaree, about four miles from the Jacobite camp towards Slane.

William also called a council of war, at nine o'clock in the evening, not to take the advice of his officers, but to convey to them the fact that he had resolved to force the passage of the river next morning. Rendered impatient by news he had received of political intrigues in England, and apprehensive, from reports that had reached him from the Jacobite camp, that James would retreat, he would not listen to Schomberg's urgent advice against an enterprise that appeared to be very hazardous. Determined that his plans should not be known, and suspicious of the fidelity of some of his officers, he merely announced that he would send to the tent of each officer that night his particular orders. Schomberg, who appears to have been ignorant of the motives of William, is said, when the order of battle was delivered to him, to have remarked that he was more used to giving such orders than to receiving them. The old general is also said to have been much annoyed at the overruling of his advice to detach a portion of the army to secure the bridge of Slane, so as to turn the flank of the Jacobites and cut them off from the Pass of Duleek. At midnight William made a final inspection of his forces by torchlight, and issued his final orders, which included directions that "every soldier was to put a green bough in his hat. The baggage and great coats were to be left under a guard. The word was 'Westminster'."

The morning of Tuesday, the 1st of July, 1690, dawned bright and unclouded on the hostile camps. The first movement in the Williamite army was the march, at sunrise, of a division of 10,000 picked men. William's orders were that the river should be crossed in three places. The right wing,

commanded by Count Meinhardt Schomberg (one of the Duke's sons), assisted by Lieutenant-General Douglas and Lord Portland, was to pass at some fords near the bridge of Slane to turn the left flank of the Jacobite army. The centre, consisting chiefly of infantry, and commanded by the Duke of Schomberg, was to pass at the fords in front of the Jacobite camp at Oldbridge, where had been collected all James's foot, dragoons, and horse, with the sole exception of Sarsfield's regiment. The left wing, composed exclusively of cavalry, and led by King William in person, was to pass at a ford not far above Drogheda, and flank their foes whilst they were engaged.

James had been prepared for the movement of William's right wing the night before, and he now saw his fatal error in rejecting the advice of his officers to provide against it. He hastily ordered the whole of his left wing, which included Lauzun's French division, with part of his centre, and his six remaining field-pieces, to proceed with all possible expedition to oppose the flanking division; but it was too late to obstruct their passage. The troops under Meinhardt Schomberg marched more rapidly, and the cavalry forced the passage of the river at Rossnaree, which was gallantly defended by Sir Neil O'Neill, who lost seventy of his men and was himself mortally wounded. Portland's infantry and the artillery crossed at Slane, where the bridge had been broken but the river was fordable. Their progress was at first arrested by a morass; but finding, on trial, that though difficult it was not impossible to pass, the infantry marched into it, while the artillery went round by a narrow tract of firm ground at the back of the marshy portion. The Jacobites, astonished, turned and fled, while their opponents, unacquainted with the nature of the ground, advanced stolidly, though slowly and floundering at every step. The cavalry moved more rapidly, and drove before them, with slaughter, all who offered any opposition to their progress.

It was now nearly ten o'clock, and William, having heard that Count Schomberg had succeeded in crossing, ordered the advanced body of his centre to pass the fords. This was composed of the Dutch, the Brandenburghers, the Huguenots, and the Inniskillings. Solme's Blues were the first to move. They advanced with drums beating to the brink of the Boyne, and, marching ten abreast, entered the stream at the highest ford opposite Oldbridge. So shallow was the water here that the drummers only required to raise the drums to their knees. The Londonderry and Enniskillen horse followed, and at their left the Huguenots entered, led by Caillemot, brother of the Marquis de Ruvigny. The English infantry came next, under Sir John Hanmer and the Count Nassau; lower down were the Danes; and at the fifth ford, which was considerably nearer to Drogheda, and at which the water was deeper than at any of the former, William himself crossed with the cavalry of his left wing. Thus was the Boyne, for nearly a mile of its course, filled with thousands of armed men struggling to gain the opposite bank, which bristled with pikes and bayonets. A fortification had been made by French engineers out of the hedges and buildings, and a breastwork had been thrown up close to the water-side. Tyrconnell was there, and under him were Richard Hamilton and the Earl of Antrim.

When the Dutch reached the middle of the river a heavy fire was opened upon them from the breastworks, houses, and hedges, but was ill-directed, and therefore without much effect. As fast as they reached the opposite bank they formed and attacked the Jacobites, who fled from their first defences in the utmost disorder; but as their assailants advanced, fresh troops sprang up from the hedges and ridges behind, and, multiplied to the eye by the manner in which they were disposed, presented a far more formidable appearance than was anticipated. Five battalions bore down upon the Dutch, but they were repulsed. The Jacobite horse were next directed

against them, but with no better success, and the Dutch had repulsed two attacks when the Inniskillings and Huguenots arrived to assist them, and drove back with great slaughter a third body of horse.

General Richard Hamilton, who acted throughout the day with marked bravery, and who commanded the Jacobite horse, enraged at the pusillanimity of the foot, distributed brandy among his men, and then led them furiously against the advancing troops, who had now cleared most of the hedges and were ready to form on the unbroken ground. At the same time the French infantry rose suddenly from behind the low hills in the rear, and advanced in good order to support Hamilton's charge. The English centre, confounded at this sudden attack, stood for a moment irresolute. A squadron of Danes, attacked by a part of Hamilton's horse, turned in mid-stream, being followed into the water by their pursuers. The latter then threw themselves upon the Huguenots under Caillemot, who, being unsupported, and having no pikes to withstand the charge, were broken, and their gallant leader ridden down and mortally wounded. Four of his men carried him back across the ford to his tent. As he was borne away he urged on his men, crying to them in French: "To glory, my lads, to glory!"

The Jacobite foot left to defend the ford were, in point of numbers, utterly inadequate, and it is stated that very few of them had muskets, their principal arm being the pike. At the onset they saw themselves unsupported, and they had already suffered severely before the horse came to sustain them, so that under the circumstances they scarcely deserve the epithet of a "mob of cow stealers" which Macaulay bestows upon them. Tyrconnell, who held the chief command in the absence of James, behaved like a gallant soldier; but it would have required more consummate generalship than he possessed to retrieve the fortune of the day. The Jacobite cavalry fought with much valour, the only exceptions being

Clare's and Dungan's dragoons; and, the latter having lost their able young commander by a cannon-shot at the commencement of the action, their discouragement was to a certain extent excusable. It was also unfortunate for the Jacobites that Sarsfield's horse accompanied King James as his body-guard, and were thus prevented from taking any part in the action.

Schomberg, who watched the struggle from the northern bank, perceiving the distress of the centre, and learning of the death of Caillemot, now plunged into the river with the impetuosity of a young man, disdaining to don his cuirass, which was pressed upon him by those near him. Without defensive armour he rode through the river to rally the Huguenots, whom the fall of Caillemot had dismayed. "Come on!" he cried in French to the refugees; "there are your persecutors!" pointing with his sword as he spoke to the French squadrons serving under King James. These were his last words. At this moment a troop of Jacobite horse dashed furiously in his direction. He was surrounded and killed, receiving two sabre wounds on the head and a carbine bullet in the neck. About the same time Walker, the gallant Governor of Londonderry, to whom William had just given the See of that city, was also shot dead. The King, who believed that clergymen should confine themselves to such spiritual weapons as the sword of faith and the breastplate of righteousness, when informed that "the Bishop of Derry has been killed by a shot at the ford", contented himself by asking: "What took him there?" The firing had now continued incessantly for about an hour, but it began to slacken amid the general disorder; the tide had begun to run very fast and the passage of the Boyne was becoming more difficult. The battle raged with great fury along the southern shore of the river, the contest being well sustained by both parties; but the Jacobite horse of one wing had to resist unsupported the advance of all the horse and foot of William's left and centre,

to which task it was entirely unequal, and they retired, fighting obstinately.

The day was decided by the approach of William, who did not cross the river until late in the action. The advance of the cavalry had been retarded by the unexpected difficulties experienced in crossing, owing to the bottom of the river, which was extremely soft, indeed so much so that William's own charger was forced to swim, and was very nearly lost, the King being obliged to dismount and be carried over by his attendants. As soon as he was on firm ground he took his sword in his left hand—his right it will be remembered had been wounded the day before—and led his men to the place where the fight was hottest. They were charged by the Jacobite cavalry with such violence that they were driven back. At this moment William, in the midst of the tumult, rode up to the Inniskillings and cried: "What will you do for me?" He was not immediately recognized, and one dragoon, in the heat of action, mistaking the King's identity, was about to shoot him, when William calmly turned the weapon aside, with the query: "Do you not know your friends?" "It is His Majesty!" cried the Colonel, and the Inniskillings received the announcement with a shout of delight. "Gentlemen," said William, "you shall be my guards to-day. I have heard much of you. Let me see something of you." At length the Jacobite infantry gave way on every side. Hamilton again placed himself at the head of the cavalry and made a desperate attempt to retrieve the future of the day; but though they made a momentary impression they were soon routed, and he was himself severely wounded and taken prisoner.

Meinhardt Schomberg had in the meanwhile been clearing the difficult grounds which had retarded his march, and was now engaged in a pursuit of the troops opposed to him towards Duleek. Long before this an aide-de-camp brought news to James that William's forces had made good their

passage at Oldbridge, whereupon the hapless monarch ordered Lauzun to march in a parallel direction with that of Douglas and Count Schomberg towards Duleek, which place he reached before the flying throng of the Jacobite foot. Tyrconnell came up next; and now for the first time the French infantry rendered good service to their side by their admirable discipline, preserving their own order and co-operating with the Jacobite cavalry in covering the retreat. Berwick's horse was the last to cross the narrow pass of Duleek, with the forces of William close in the rear; but beyond the defile the Jacobites rallied. Five of the six field-pieces which James had taken with him in the morning towards Slane were still available; the sixth had stuck in a bog. At the deep defile of Naul the last stand was made. It was now nine o'clock; the fighting had lasted since ten o'clock in the forenoon. The Jacobites drew up in good order and presented a determined front; seeing which it was deemed impolitic for so small a force to attack them, and the order was given for a return to Duleek.

Thus ended the memorable battle of the Boyne, in which William is said to have lost not more than 500 men, while the loss of the Jacobites has been variously estimated at from 1500 to 2000, including Lords Dungan and Carlingford and Sir Neil O'Neill. To William the day was embittered by the loss of Schomberg and Caillemot. James fled precipitately to Dublin. William's army lay on their arms at Duleek. The King's coach had been brought over, and he slept in it surrounded by his soldiers.

CHAPTER VIII

After the Battle

The Battle of the Boyne one of the Decisive Battles of the World—The Remains of Schomberg taken to Dublin and deposited in St. Patrick's Cathedral —Walker interred at Castle Caulfeild—Macaulay's Mistakes in connection with Walker—The Memory of the Dead Governor duly honoured at Londonderry—Drogheda surrenders—James flies to France—Dublin in a State of Anarchy—William encamps at Finglas and enters Dublin in State—His Cause triumphant.

The Boyne was one of the decisive battles of the world. To Ireland it meant the change of a dynasty, to Ulster the triumph of the Protestants. After a battle it is usual to count the number of the slain, to identify, if possible, the distinguished among the dead, to attend to and succour the wounded, and to perform the last offices over those who have fallen, securing their mortal remains, if time permits, from the possibility of again appearing in disjointed fashion to bear evidence to the "great victory" to which they contributed. This task shall be ours also.

The most distinguished of those who fell at the Boyne undoubtedly was Schomberg. To his corpse all honour was paid. The remains of the great soldier were taken to Dublin, where they were embalmed in as efficient a manner as was possible, and were placed in a leaden coffin, which was deposited in St. Patrick's Cathedral. The intention no doubt was, as announced at the time, to "bury the great duke with a nation's lamentation" in Westminster Abbey, but it was never carried out, and the remains of Schomberg still repose in their first resting-place.

"Walker", says Macaulay, "was treated less respectfully;" but this was only one of the great historian's exaggerated statements. Walker's remains were treated in the manner he would himself have desired. He was interred at his own church at Castle Caulfeild. The presence of the defender of Londonderry with the army of William, and the circumstance of his death have been interpreted by Macaulay with acrimony, and even injustice to his memory. So far was George Walker from having "contracted a passion for war"; from having forgotten "that the peculiar circumstances which had justified him in becoming a combatant had ceased to exist"; from being "determined to be wherever danger was"; or from exposing himself in such a way as to excite "the extreme disgust of his royal patron"; so untrue was it, as Macaulay asserts, that "while exhorting the colonists of Ulster to play the men, Walker was shot dead", that in fact Walker did not take any part whatever in the military work of the campaign.

Deputed by the Episcopalian and Presbyterian clergy of Ulster to present congratulatory addresses to William on his arrival in Ireland, Walker waited on him for that purpose at Belfast on the 19th of June, and was then requested by the King to accompany him on his march for the sake of the information he could impart as to the country and the people. That the substantial liberality of William, shown a few days after to the Presbyterian clergy of Ulster, was the effect in some degree of Walker's representations there cannot be reasonable doubt.

The Londonderry and Enniskillen troops did not join the army till nearly the eve of the battle, and therefore Walker could not truly be represented as accompanying them on the march from Belfast. He did not enter the battle with them; he did not even enter the Boyne at the same spot, nor until long after they had passed and won for themselves a footing on the south bank; nor was he slain near where they were

in contention. He seems to have remained near Duke Schomberg on the north bank until the latter, seeing the Huguenot regiments driven back into the river, and their brave commander carried mortally wounded across the ford, thought the emergency required from him the personal exertion of a soldier. Walker accompanied him to the brink of the river, and may perhaps unconsciously have followed, sometime after, into the stream; but it was a stray cannon-shot which terminated his life while a (perhaps too near) spectator of the fight. This explains William's query on hearing of his death: "What took him there?" That Walker's memory was duly honoured Macaulay himself admits: "Five generations have since [the siege of Londonderry] passed away; and still the wall of Londonderry is to the Protestants of Ulster what the trophy of Marathon was to the Athenians. A lofty pillar, rising from a bastion which bore during many weeks the heaviest fire of the enemy, is seen from far up and down the Foyle. On the summit is the statue of Walker, such as when, in the last and terrible emergency, his eloquence roused the fainting courage of his brethren. In one hand he grasps a Bible. The other, pointing down the river, seems to direct the eyes of his famished audience to the English topmasts in the bay."

The number of distinguished men who fell at the Boyne included, as we have seen, Caillemot, for whose memory William exhibited his respect by giving Duke Schomberg's regiment of French horse to his brother, the Marquis de Ruvigny.

Amongst the prisoners was Richard Hamilton, who, when he was brought before William, was asked by the King: "Is this business over, or will your horse make more fight?" Hamilton replied: "Upon my honour, sir, I believe they will, for they have yet a good body of horse." William cast a scornful glance at the man who had betrayed him in his negotiations with Tyrconnell,

and exclaimed, in a contemptuous tone: "Honour, *your* honour!"

On the morning following the day of battle William sent a detachment to summon the garrison of Drogheda to surrender; and when its commander, Lord Iveagh, hesitated, he threatened to put the garrison to the sword if any resistance was offered. On this they listened to terms, and the garrison, 1300 strong, were allowed to march out without their arms and be conducted to Athlone.

James, first in the retreat, arrived in Dublin with some horse early in the evening, and bodies of the Jacobite infantry coming in in the course of the night confirmed the news of the defeat. When James arrived at the Castle it is said he was met at the threshold by Lady Tyrconnell, to whom he announced his defeat, attributing it entirely to "the runaway Irish", whereupon the lady observed that their fleetness was nothing in comparison with that of His Majesty, who evidently had won the race! Next morning the French reached the capital, and the Irish horse, "who had, on the preceding day, so well supported the honour of their country", arrived in such excellent order, with martial music, that it was for a moment doubted if they had lost the battle. On a rumour that the enemy was approaching, the Jacobite troops were again drawn out on the north side of the city to oppose them; but in truth William's army did not enter Dublin until late in the evening of the following day, Thursday, the 3rd of July.

James hastily called a meeting at the Castle of the civil and military authorities and delivered a short address, in which he informed his audience of his defeat, which he attributed entirely to the cowardice of his Irish troops, who had, he said, fled in the moment of danger and could not be rallied, although they had suffered but little loss, adding: "I will never command an Irish army again. I must now shift for myself; and so must you." Having thus reviled his

troops he exhibited some concern lest his words might bear fruit, and the discontented soldiery pillage and burn the city. He urged them not to provoke the vengeance of their enemies by so barbarous an act, but to set their prisoners at liberty and submit to the Prince of Orange, who was of a merciful disposition. At five o'clock on Wednesday morning he set out, and, leaving two troops of horse which he had taken with him, to defend the bridge at Bray, should the enemy come up, he continued his flight with a few followers through the Wicklow Mountains. Near Arklow he bated his horses for about two hours and then pursued his way to the harbour of Waterford, where, after travelling all night, he arrived at sunrise. Here he embarked on board a small French vessel, which took him by the following morning to Kinsale, whence he sailed with a French squadron, which had been provided for his service by his Queen, and which landed him at Brest on the 20th of July, he being himself the first to arrive with the news of his defeat.

James's forces had followed him to Dublin, and thence—when they learned that he had deserted them, and, as they maintained, sacrificed them to other interests—they made an orderly retreat towards the Shannon. There they were joined by the officers who had accompanied James to Waterford, who came to continue the war and explain the causes of his departure. The indignation of the soldiery had indeed been great at the imputation of cowardice cast upon them by a prince who, instead of taking any part in the action, had stood aloof from the conflict, a looker-on, and had fled before the battle was decided. They made invidious comparisons between his pusillanimity and the bravery of King William, who had been seen leading on his men in the thickest of the contest. "If the English would change kings with us," Sarsfield said, "we would willingly fight the battle over again!"

James, with characteristic selfishness, had shown no care

in his flight for anyone save himself. He abandoned Dublin to its fate, leaving no one with authority to keep order in the city, of which the inhabitants now naturally became a prey to conflicting emotions. When the fugitive army marched hastily through on their way south, Simon Luttrell, the Jacobite governor, the magistrates, with the militia and principal Roman Catholic inhabitants, abandoned the capital, which remained in a state of anarchy and disorder, in the power of liberated Protestant prisoners. These, having suffered many privations and indignities, were in a state of wild delight at the sudden and signal defeat of their persecutors, and, breathing nothing but vengeance against them, were prepared for any outrages that might be suggested in the heat of the moment of triumph. They ran about the streets scarcely knowing what they did, assembled here and there in small parties discussing first one project and then another, and at last some came to the resolution of attacking and plundering the dwellings of the "Papists".

At this critical moment a FitzGerald of the Kildare family, a military man, who had like other Protestants been released from prison, presented himself amongst the populace, and aided by his social and military rank he succeeded in prevailing upon the frenzied crowd to abstain from acts of violence. Some of the gentry and clergy rallied round him, and he assumed the government of the city. The guard left in the Castle, consisting of some thirty Roman Catholic militia, were easily persuaded to lay down their arms and surrender, and FitzGerald placed the fortress in the hands of a party of Protestants, under the command of Captain Farlow, an officer who had been taken prisoner by James during William's march to Dundalk. FitzGerald next sent off an express to the camp in the north, begging for speedy assistance to keep Dublin in order. At such times rumours spread like wildfire. Every moment some fresh alarm disturbed the city. Reports had been circulated that the Catho-

lics intended to set fire to the capital. News was brought to FitzGerald that a thousand of the enemy had arrived, and that the suburbs were already in flames; but when he hastened to the spot indicated he found neither fires nor incendiaries. The excited populace, still eager for plunder, broke into the house of Sarsfield, and it was with the utmost difficulty that FitzGerald saved it from their fury. In his anxiety he sent fresh expresses to King William, urging him to dispatch some troops to occupy the city.

FitzGerald's first messengers had reached William's camp early on the 3rd of July, the second day after the battle, and when the King learnt from them the state of affairs in Dublin he directed the young Duke of Ormonde to proceed to the capital with the Blue Dutch Guards, and nine troop of horse under Auverquerque, Master of the Horse, and Sgravenmore. The horse took possession of all the outposts, while the Dutch marched into Dublin Castle.

William, with the body of the army, now marched south, and on Saturday, the 5th, entered Finglas, a village about two miles distant from Dublin, and in Finglas he established his head-quarters. On Sunday morning, the 6th, he made his public entry into Dublin, riding in great state to St. Patrick's Cathedral, and there, with a crown on his head, "returned public thanks to God in the choir which is now hung with the banners of the Knights of St. Patrick". Having heard a sermon from Dr. King, William returned to his camp at Finglas, preferring the small portable wooden house which he used in campaigning to the state apartments in Dublin Castle.

For some considerable time from this period the history of Ulster is also the history of Ireland; the scene of action shifts to the south and west. As we have seen, Drogheda, on the day after the passage of the Boyne, submitted to William's forces. On the 16th Kilkenny opened its gates to a detachment sent under the Duke of Ormonde, with whom William

dined on the 19th at his castle in that city. Duncannon was surrendered, and on the 25th of July Waterford capitulated, its garrison of 1600 marching out with arms and baggage for Limerick, towards which William next directed his course.

Into the history of the Siege of Limerick and the Battle of Aughrim it is not our province to enter.

CHAPTER IX

The New Life

Ulster at rest—The Arrival of Balldearg O'Donnell—The Ulster Militia march to assist in the Reduction of Sligo—Balldearg O'Donnell joins the Forces of William in Flanders—Proclamation of Peace—Cost of the War—Viscount Sidney appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—The Irish Parliament of 1692—Its Independence—Dissolved September, 1693—The Ownership of Land—Its Chaotic State—Establishment of a Court of Claims—William's Grants of Forfeited Estates—Sidney recalled—Capel appointed Lord Deputy.

Ulster with the relief of Londonderry and the victory of the Boyne brought to a close her "crowded hour of glorious life". The most sanguine lover of heroic deeds could scarcely expect a never-ending succession of them. Ulster had fulfilled herself, and had proved that she could greatly dare and conquer, and now, having won freedom, she could very gladly rest. Her record for over a hundred years from this date does not, from the point of view of those who look for "moving accidents" or blood-curdling episodes, rise above the level of "an Old Bailey story". It must not be supposed, however, that she was supinely lethargic. Ulster remained active in all that could conduce to the welfare and advancement of her people. She did not become debased by the freedom she had won. Retrogression remained to her an unknown term. But she took life less strenuously, and by a well-earned period of rest recuperated, and recovered the strength lost in the time of storm and stress through which she had passed.

To the student of history this period is unproductive. It is dull, stale, flat, and unprofitable, conveying no gospel of

glad movement to the mind. Ulster now resembles a vast area in which great deeds had been done, but which was now given over to commonplace pursuits:

> There tiny pleasures occupy the place
> Of glories and of duties, as the feet
> Of fabled fairies, when the sun goes down,
> Trip o'er the grass where wrestlers strove by day.

But, unheroic as the time must appear, it was indicative of the introduction of law and order into Ulster, and that the province was slowly but surely becoming "a land of settled government".

Shortly after the Battle of the Boyne there arrived from Spain a remarkable man named Balldearg O'Donnell, who claimed to be a lineal descendant of the ancient chiefs of Tirconnel. He also claimed to be the O'Donnell "with a red mark" (ball dearg) who, according to ancient prophecy, was destined to lead his followers to victory. Of his descent there is little doubt, for that great authority Dr. O'Donovan, in his pedigree of the O'Donnells, states that Hugh, son of Hugh Boy, son of Calvagh, an uncle of Roderick O'Donnell, first Earl of Tirconnel, and of the famous Hugh Roe, was styled Earl of Tirconnel on the Continent, and "was indubitably the very man called Balldearg O'Donnell, who came from Spain to command the Irish in the war of James II". That he appeared in fulfilment of prophecy is, however, another matter; but nevertheless his claim appears to have gained wide credence and his advent excited great enthusiasm, especially among the humbler classes. Men flocked in thousands to his standard; he set up as a kind of independent commander and soon had enrolled under him an irregular force of eight regiments, which he supported by levying heavy contributions wherever he went. The Duke of Tyrconnell, who on account of the clash of claims for the title entertained a strong aversion to him, deprived Ball-

dearg of three regiments of his best men under pretence of incorporating them with the regular army, and made no provision for the support of his remaining battalions.

It was now September, 1691. William's campaign in the south had been carried on with vigour. The King himself, twelve months earlier, having raised the siege of Limerick, had left Ireland, leaving the command of the army to Count de Solmes, who later was succeeded by Ginkell. The civil government of the country had been entrusted to Lord Sidney, Sir Charles Porter, and Thomas Coningsby. On William's departure Marlborough had arrived with fresh troops, and Cork and Kinsale had been reduced, and Athlone taken; the Battle of Aughrim had resulted in the death of St. Ruth and the defeat of the Jacobites; Galway also had been captured.

During these events the militia on one side and the rapparees on the other were not idle. The Dublin militia joined 800 of the Ulster militia and marched to assist in the reduction of Sligo, the only place of any importance, except Limerick, now in the hands of the Jacobites. They were joined on the 9th of September, at Abbey Boyle, by Balldearg O'Donnell, who, having been thwarted in every way by the Duke of Tyrconnell, now joined the standard of William with about 1200 Irish. These being placed under the command of Lord Granard, after taking Ballymote, marched laboriously over the Curlieu Mountains, and sat down before Sligo. The garrison surrendered on the 16th September, 1691, on condition of being conveyed to Limerick. Balldearg later entered William's service in Flanders, with those of his men whom he could induce to follow him, and he received during the remainder of his life a pension of £500 a year. With the capitulation of Limerick in the beginning of October the last serious resistance to William in Ireland came to an end.

On the 23rd of March, 1692, a proclamation, signed by

the King on the 3rd of the same month, was published in Dublin, by which it was announced that the kingdom of Ireland was now reduced to obedience, and that the war and rebellion were at an end. Thus closed a struggle which had cost a greater expenditure of blood and money than any former war in Ireland. The only approximate calculation of the loss to both sides appears to be that given by Story, founded upon facts within his own knowledge, and which appears to be rather under-estimated than otherwise. He reckons the pay of the army under Schomberg in 1689, with the Londonderry and Enniskillen troops then taken into pay, at £869,410, 7*s*. 6*d*. The pay of the King's army in 1690 he estimates at £1,287,630, 2*s*. That of the army under Ginkell, in 1691, he estimates at £1,161,830, 12*s*. 10*d*. The pay of the general officers, which is not included in the estimate just given, with the train, bread, wagons, transports, and other contingencies, he reckons at as much more, making thus a total of £6,637,742, 4*s*. 8*d*. "And the Irish [Jacobite] army," he adds, "living for the most part upon the product of the country, could not cost much less; besides the further destruction of the Protestant interest in that kingdom, by cutting down improvements, burning of houses, destroying of sheep and cattle, taking away of horses, with infinite other extortions and robberies, as also the loss of people on both sides, most of which, however disaffected, yet they were subjects to the crown of England."

Story's estimate as to the losses on either side is interesting. "As to the particulars of our and their losses of people in both armies since the landing of Schomberg in Ireland," he says, "the best computation I have been able to make by comparing accounts, and conferring on both sides with those that have made some observations on that matter, the thing runs thus: Irish officers killed, 617. Soldiers killed, belonging to the Irish [Jacobite] army, 12,676. Rapparees killed by the army and militia,

1928. Rapparees hanged by legal process or court martial, 112. Rapparees killed and hanged by soldiers and others, without any ceremony, 600. Officers killed in the English army, 140. Soldiers killed in the field, 2037. Murdered privately, by the rapparees, that we have no account where they died, 800. English and foreign officers died during the three campaigns, 320. Soldiers dead in the English army since our landing in Ireland, 7000. Though it is to be observed that in the two last campaigns there died very few, except recruits, and such as died of their wounds. Nor are we to believe that the Irish did not lose a great many by sickness also, but no doubt the destruction of the people in the country would be more than double all these numbers, so that by the sword, famine, and all other accidents, there has perished, since first the Irish began to play their mad pranks, there have died, I say, in that kingdom, of one sort and another, at least 100,000, young and old, besides treble the number that are ruined and undone."

"All of which being considered," says Story, "it is certainly most expedient to find out an eternal remedy, that the like may never happen again. And this I humbly suppose, must not be any endeavour to root out and destroy the Irish, but in the advancing the English interest both in church and state, in that kingdom, so as to make the Irish themselves in love with it." Such were the sentiments expressed on the condition of Ireland, at a moment when much of the best part of the native population was rushing into exile.

On the conclusion of the war the temporary government of the Lords Justices was superseded, and Henry Sidney, now Viscount Sidney, who had been appointed Viceroy in the spring, arrived to take up office on the 25th of August, 1692. It was understood that one of his first measures should be the calling of an Irish Parliament, and the writs were issued for the 5th of October. The question of the independence of the

Irish Parliament at once excited a lively interest, the feeling on the subject running so high that a Bill sent from England for imposing certain duties was rejected by the Commons, without any ground for the rejection being assigned save that "the said Bill had not its rise in this House". This Resolution was passed on the 28th of October, and on the 3rd of November the Lord-Lieutenant attended, and unexpectedly and suddenly prorogued Parliament, pronouncing at the same time a severe rebuke, and ordering the clerk to enter his protest against the resolution of the Commons on the journal of the House, in vindication of the prerogative of the Crown. The Parliament never met again for business; after two prorogations, it was dissolved on the 5th of September, 1693.

During the war the Acts of James's Parliament which repealed the Acts of Settlement and Explanation had been to some extent acted upon, and some of the original proprietors who had been dispossessed recovered their former estates. This added to the confusion already existing, so that the ownership of landed property in Ireland immediately after the settling down of affairs at the end of the war was in a chaotic state. To remedy this condition of things a Court of Claims was established, various commissions of enquiry were appointed, and writs issued out of the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer. Upon these writs inquisitions were found and returned certifying the attainder of divers persons, and consequently the right and title of the Crown to a large extent of described territory. It was calculated that about 4000 resident and 57 absentee owners of property had rendered themselves liable to forfeiture of their lands, amounting to over 1,100,000 plantation acres. Of the lands thus forfeited about a fourth had been restored to the ancient proprietors in conformity with the civil articles of the Treaty of Limerick, and about one-seventh of the remaining three-fourths had been given back to unhappy families, who,

though they could not plead the letter of the Treaty, had been considered fit objects of clemency. The rest was bestowed by the King partly on persons whose services merited all, and possibly more than all, that they had obtained, but chiefly on His Majesty's personal friends. Among the recipients of William's bounty were: Bentinck, afterwards Lord Portland, who received 130,000 acres; Henry de Ruvigny, created Earl of Galway, 40,000 acres; Van Keppel, created Lord Albemarle, 100,000 acres; Viscount Sidney, afterwards Earl of Romney, 50,000 acres; and on Elizabeth Villiers, whose husband, George Hamilton, was created Earl of Orkney, the King bestowed the whole of the great estate of the Duke of York (James II).

In the English Parliament on the 24th of February, 1693, there was a warm debate upon Irish affairs, and an address to the King was voted, complaining of great abuses and mismanagement in the affairs of the country, such as the recruiting of the King's troops with "Papists, to the great endangering and discouraging of the good and loyal Protestant subjects in that kingdom"; the "granting protections to Irish Papists", "whereby Protestants are hindered from the legal remedies, and the course of law stopt". The letting of the forfeited estates at under rates; the enormous embezzlements of the forfeited estates and goods; but, above all, the Parliament complained of an addition which they said was made to the Articles of Limerick after the town was surrendered, "to the very great encouragement of the Irish Papists", which addition, as well as the Articles, they prayed might be laid before the House; and they also besought His Majesty that no grant might be made of the forfeited estates in Ireland until an opportunity was afforded of settling the matter in Parliament.

The King was annoyed at this interference of the English Commons. He replied in general terms: "I shall always have great consideration of what comes from the House of

Commons; and I shall take great care that what is amiss shall be remedied".

In the hope of appeasing the clamour in Ireland, where Viscount Sidney became more and more unpopular, William recalled that nobleman early in July, 1693, and entrusted the government of the country to three Lords Justices, Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wych, and William Duncombe. It was soon found this triumvirate worked unsatisfactorily, for, while the two latter wished to distribute justice with an even hand, Capel took every opportunity to infringe the Articles of Limerick,[1] and curtail the rights of the native population. Wych and Duncombe, for their impartiality, were stigmatized as Tories and Jacobites, and Capel soon obtained the sole government as Lord Deputy.

[1] Whereby Roman Catholics were allowed to enjoy "such privileges, in the exercise of their religion, as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles II".

CHAPTER X

Linen and Latitudinarianism

Ulster unaffected by the Penal Laws—A Determined Effort to destroy the Woollen Industry—Address to the King on the Subject—The English promise to encourage and support the Linen Industry of Ulster—How the Promise was kept—*The Case of Ireland*, by Molyneux—Death of James II—Death of William III—James, Second Duke of Ormonde, Lord-Lieutenant—The Attitude of Ulster towards Jacobinism—Presbyterians and the Sacramental Test—The Bishops attack the Nonconformists—Wharton, the Viceroy, supports them—He is recalled—Death of Queen Anne.

During the later years of William's reign and during the whole period of Queen Anne's, Ulster, in the language of Wordsworth, was "as silent as a standing pool", or, to use imagery more exclusively Hibernian, she may perhaps be more appropriately likened to the famous Harp of Tara, which after a period of notable activity hung "mute on Tara's walls", leading those who had delighted in its strains to believe that the soul of music had for ever fled from its strings.

But if at this period Ulster, like Canning's needy knife-grinder, had no story to tell, it was because her career, like his, had become uneventful, not because she was no longer alert in the cause of freedom. Important matters like the Penal Laws, which greatly agitated the south and west of Ireland, did not affect the north, which, being almost wholly Protestant, did not to any great extent suffer from them. A matter, however, in which Ulster took an intense interest was referred to at the meeting of the Irish Parliament on the 27th of July, 1697, when the Lords Justices (the Marquis of

Winchester, the Earl of Galway, and Viscount Villiers), addressing the House, said: "All think the present occasion so favourable for inviting and encouraging Protestant strangers to settle here, that we cannot omit to put you in mind of it, especially since that may contribute to the increase of the linen manufacture, which is the most beneficial trade that can be encouraged in Ireland".

The manufacturers in England had long been jealous of the success of the woollen manufactures of Ireland, and it was resolved to use every influence to make the industry subordinate to that of England. Some attempts with that view had been made in Strafford's time, but, notwithstanding these, the trade flourished; and now, as on that occasion, it was proposed to encourage the linen trade as a substitute, linen not being a staple commodity in England; although in this also, at a later period, Irish rivalry excited English jealousy. In June, 1698, addresses on the subject from the English Houses of Parliament were presented to the King. In these they represented that, being "very sensible that the wealth and power of this kingdom do in a great measure depend on the preserving the woollen manufacture as much as possible entire to this realm", they thought it became them like their ancestors to be jealous of the establishment and the increase thereof elsewhere, and to use their utmost endeavours to prevent it. They said that they could not without trouble observe that Ireland, "which is dependent and protected by England in the enjoyment of all they have, and which is so proper for the linen manufacture, the establishment and growth of which there would be so enriching to themselves and so profitable to England, should of late apply itself to the woollen manufacture, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom, and so unwillingly promote the linen trade, which would benefit both nations. The consequence thereof would necessitate His Majesty's Parliament of England to interpose to prevent this mischief,

unless His Majesty by his authority and great wisdom should find means to secure the trade of England by making his subjects of Ireland pursue the joint interest of both kingdoms." They therefore implored His Majesty's protection and favour in this matter, and expressed the desire "that he would make it his royal care, and enjoin all those he employed in Ireland to use their utmost diligence, to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland (except to be imported hither), and for the discouraging the woollen manufactures and encouraging the linen manufactures in Ireland, to which the Commons of England should always be ready to give their utmost assistance."

William, in reply, said: "I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland, and to encourage the linen trade there; and to promote the trade of England"; and he sent instructions accordingly to the Lords Justices in Ireland. An Act had already existed during two years, having been passed by the English Parliament in 1696, prohibiting the exportation of wool and woollen manufactures (except to England), under very severe penalties; and this, confirmed and strengthened by a new Act during this period, had excited considerable agitation in Ireland, although the Irish Parliament acted with moderation, under the influence, no doubt, of the Lords Justices. The latter, when they opened the Parliament at the end of September, 1698, indicated the view which they wished to be taken of the matter.

"Amongst the Bills", said the Lords Justices, "there is one for the encouragement of the linen and hempen manufactures. At our first meeting, we recommended to you that matter, and we have now endeavoured to render this Bill practicable and useful for that effect, and as such we now recommend it to you. The settlement of this manufacture will contribute much to people in the country, and will be found much more advantageous to this Kingdom than the

woollen manufacture, which being the settled staple trade of England, from whence all foreign markets are supplied, can never be encouraged here for that purpose; whereas the linen and hempen manufactures will not only be encouraged as consistent with the trade of England, but will render the trade of this Kingdom both useful and necessary to England."

In their reply the Irish Commons stated that they should heartily endeavour to establish the linen industry and to render it useful to England as well as advantageous to Ireland; and that they hoped so to regulate their woollen trade that it should not be injurious to England. In the session of 1689 they passed a law imposing on the exportation of Irish woollen goods duties which amounted to a prohibition; and in the same year a law was passed in England restraining the exportation of Irish woollen manufactures, including frieze, to any country except England and Wales. The Irish woollen industry was carried on almost exclusively by Protestants in the north of Ireland, and large numbers were reduced to poverty by its destruction. The promises of support from England for the linen trade proved to be a mockery, for Arthur Young, in his *Tour in Ireland*, proves how, in direct breach of the compact, in the reign of George II, a tax was laid on sailcloth made of Irish hemp, and how bounties were given to English linens to the exclusion of Irish, and also how certain Irish fabrics were not admitted into England.

A matter which affected the entire country was the publication, in 1698, of *The Case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated*, by William Molyneux, one of the Members for the University of Dublin. The author of this famous book with a clumsy title was a friend and disciple of John Locke, whose essay "On the True Original Extent and End of Civil Government" served as the basis for his treatise, in which he reviewed the history of the Pale from

the Anglo-Norman invasion, and from the whole connection of the two kingdoms drew strong inferences in support of their reciprocal legislative independence. The English House of Commons resolved unanimously "that the book published by Mr. Molyneux was of dangerous tendency to the Crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the King and Parliament of England to bind the Kingdom and people of Ireland, and the subordination and dependence that Ireland had and ought to have upon England as being united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of England". They also condemned in the strongest terms the practice of the Irish Parliament to re-enact laws made in England expressly to bind Ireland; and went in a body to present an address to the King, to whom the book had been dedicated by the author, praying His Majesty "to take all necessary care that the laws which directed and restrained the Parliament of Ireland should not be evaded, but strictly observed; and that he would discourage all things which might in any degree lessen the dependence of Ireland upon England".

King James II, after a tedious illness, died at St. Germains, on the 16th of September, 1701; upon which the King of France publicly acknowledged his son, the nominal Prince of Wales, as King of England, to the great indignation of King William and his loyal subjects. William did not long survive his rival. He suffered from his old enemies headaches and shivering fits, but as of old endeavoured to throw them off. He still rode and even hunted, but his seat in the saddle was no longer what it had been, and his hold on the bridle was feeble. Riding in Hampton Court Park, on the 20th of February, 1702, the King, mounted on his favourite horse, Sorrel, was badly thrown, owing to his steed stumbling on a mole-hill. The King's collar-bone was broken. To one never robust this was the beginning of the end. William died on the 8th of March, in the fifty-second year of his age. "Ever a fighter", he fought to the last, and relinquished life

with regret, for he deemed his work but half finished. He was succeeded by James's second daughter, Anne.

In 1703 James, the second and last Duke of Ormonde, was appointed Lord-Lieutenant, and on his arrival the House of Commons waited on him in a body, with a Bill, "for preventing the further growth of Popery", praying, says Burnet, with more than ordinary vehemence to intercede so effectually for them that it might be returned under the Great Seal of England. This Ormonde undertook to do, and we learn from the same authority that he fulfilled his promise punctually. To this Bill was added a clause known as the Sacramental Test, which excluded from every public trust all who refused the Sacrament according to the rites of the Established Church, and which, therefore, militated against Presbyterians and other Protestant dissenters, as well as against Roman Catholics. The Presbyterians were at first alarmed; but on being assured that the clause would never be put in force against themselves, and that it was only the "Papists" who were aimed at, they withdrew their opposition. The Bill passed without a dissentient voice.

In the year 1708, when the Pretender sailed for Scotland to raise the standard of rebellion in that country, we have a curious document showing the extent of disaffection in Ireland, in a report in French addressed to the wife of the Pretender, who is addressed as Queen of England. The author of this document was Father Ambrose O'Connor, the head of the Irish Dominicans, who had been sent to Ireland as an agent of the Jacobites, to gauge the feelings of the Irish Catholics. In some things we cannot but come to the conclusion that Father O'Connor was misinformed with regard to persons with whom he had not corresponded personally, but his report is singularly interesting on account of the fact that we possess but little information on the movements of the Jacobites in Ireland at this period.

O'Connor first visited Connaught, where he visited "the

principal people in the Province", but he does not appear to have got much satisfaction. He then proceeded to Dublin, where he met Lords Fingall, Dillon, and Trimblestown, who assured him of their "fidelity"; "but Lords Limerick and Fingall", he says, "gave me to understand that, it would be useless to talk to them on the subject, since the descent upon Scotland had failed". He then says: "I tried to discover how those people were disposed living in the north of Ireland, who were distinguished by the name of the Scotch residents of the Province of Ulster or Ultonia, and I learned from persons of credit and distinction, that they were generally well affected towards the King [*i.e.* the Pretender], and when they heard that His Majesty was going to Scotland, they secretly assembled in retired situations to pray for his success. I heard this for a certainty from Lord Fingall, who travelled into that Province last June with Lord Antrim, and I have been assured the same thing by persons of equal veracity, such as the Bishop of Down and Colonel Cononeville, who have great interest in Ulster, and upon whose fidelity we may rely; they are either related to, or staunch friends of, many old and attached families in this northern Province, and that is the reason I made myself known so particularly to these two gentlemen. As to Lord Granat [Granard], I knew he was as much attached to the King as any person in Ireland; but Lord Limerick persuaded me not to call upon him, for fear of exciting suspicion either against him or myself, his residence being surrounded by Protestants and Presbyterians, who frequently visited him; but Lord Limerick promised, on the first opportunity, to deliver to Lord Granat the message with which I had been entrusted by the King."

The depressed and declining state of trade, and the emigration of the most energetic and independent of the artisans, many, indeed most, of whom were at this time Presbyterians, convinced the Government that the imposition

of the Sacramental Test was a blunder; accordingly the Earl of Pembroke was sent over in the summer of 1707 to replace Ormonde and endeavour to get rid of the Test; with him came as secretary George Dodington, whose correspondence throws much light on the state of things at the time. Ulster was dissatisfied with Pembroke, so in May, 1709, he was replaced by Thomas, Earl of Wharton, who endeavoured to bring about a good understanding among all denominations of Protestants. A Bill to explain and amend an Act entituled "An Act to prevent the further growth of Popery" was passed without delay. This Act was heralded by a Proclamation ordering all registered priests to take the Abjuration Oath before the 25th of March, 1710, under pain of *præmunire*.

While the Roman Catholics were the chief objects of penal legislation, the Presbyterians, who constituted at least two-thirds of the whole interest in Ulster, suffered from many disabilities inflicted upon them by their brethren, the dominant minority of the Established Church. They were hopelessly in the grip of the Bishops, who put the laws in force against them. The Bishops soon cleared out the Presbyterian magistrates of Ulster, and put in their place, "men of little estate, youths, newcomers and clergymen", the sole qualification being regular attendance at church. Out of the twelve Aldermen in Londonderry, ten were Presbyterians, and these were deprived of their offices. The entire Corporation of Belfast were superseded. The Presbyterian rite most objectionable in the eyes of the Bishops was that of marriage, which they regarded simply as a licence to sin. It was even announced that the children of all Protestants, whether Nonconformists or not, who were not married in the parish church would be regarded as illegitimate, and some Bishops even went further and prosecuted many persons of repute who married according to the Presbyterian rites.

The Presbyterians, encouraged by the support of the Government, roused the anger of the Bishops by addressing "base persons, coopers, shoemakers, and tailors", who were threatened with the stocks, and for so doing they were arrested on one occasion at Drogheda, and were bound over by the Mayor to take their trial at the assizes. Wharton, the Lord-Lieutenant, ordered a *nolle prosequi* to be entered. Swift now entered the field against the Dissenters, arguing that they were the only real political danger to which Ireland was exposed. The House of Lords complained to the Queen that the Presbyterians were the cause of all the disorders in Ireland, and that the Viceroy supported them. In their defence the Presbyterian General Assembly charged the Bishops with "having placed an odious mark of infamy upon at least half the Protestants of Ireland". Wharton was recalled in 1711, and at the request of the House of Lords the *Regium Donum* was withdrawn.

On the 1st of August, 1714, Queen Anne died, and a few hours later George Augustus, Duke of Cambridge, son of the Elector of Hanover, was proclaimed King under the title of George I.

CHAPTER XI

Unhappiness and Halfpence

The Earl of Sunderland, Lord-Lieutenant—The Method of governing Ireland in the Time of George I—Hugh Boulter, Primate of all Ireland—An Exodus to enlist in Foreign Service—Ship seized at Killybegs—Wretched State of the Country—Swift's Pamphlets on Irish Manufactures—Lack of Copper Coins—Wood's Halfpence—Clamour raised against them—Swift's *Drapier's Letters*—The Patent granted Wood withdrawn—Steady Stream of Emigration—3000 Protestants leave Ulster—Swift on the Condition of Ulster—Death of George I.

One of the first acts of the regency in England, appointed by King George I pending his arrival from Hanover, was to remove the Lord Chancellor, Sir Constantine Phipps, from his position of Lord Justice (1714), and appoint William King, Archbishop of Dublin; John Vesey, Archbishop of Tuam; and Robert FitzGerald, Earl of Kildare, to govern the kingdom of Ireland as Lords Justices. The vacant chancellorship was given to Alan Broderick, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. In the same year Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, was declared Lord-Lieutenant. It was then the custom of the Viceroy to reside in England, and visit Ireland every second year while Parliament was sitting, the government being carried on by Lords Justices.

The English Government having determined to make as much as they could out of Ireland with as little trouble as possible, the methods of ruling the country were peculiar. One of the Lords Justices was, as a rule, the special confidential agent of the English ministry, and he generally contrived to manage affairs through some of the magnates who owned the major portion of the Parliamentary representation, and

who were known as undertakers. At that time Parliamentary representation was a kind of property, and it therefore did not reflect the opinions of the people. The chief business of the managers of the King's concerns was to get supplies passed, to oppose any tendency displayed at independence, to prevent any interference with English trade interests, and to discourage the growth of "Popery". One of the most successful of the managers of the undertakers was Hugh Boulter, an English bishop, who, in 1724, was translated from Bristol to be Primate of all Ireland. For the eighteen years he was resident in Ireland, during which he was thirteen times Lord Justice, he was practically the ruler of the country.

After the accession of George, prosecutions for enlisting in foreign service were carried on with great vigour, but, although many recruiting agents who were caught were hanged, it was found that the practice still continued. A large number of active agents were employed raising recruits, who appear for the most part to have been driven to enlist by the distress to which the population had been reduced. Some of these recruits were sent to Spain, where the Duke of Ormonde, who had joined the Pretender, was preparing an expedition against King George. Others were sent to France. Towards the close of the reign this enlistment was carried on with increasing activity, and seems to have alarmed the Government. On one occasion a ship which entered the harbour of Killybegs to carry away some of those who had thus enlisted was seized, and Boulter wrote to the Duke of Newcastle concerning the incident: "We have daily new accounts from several parts that the lusty young fellows are quitting the country on pretence that they are going to England for work. Such as have occasion to employ many hands, begin to feel the effects of this desertion, and nobody here questions but that all these really are going into foreign service." The destruction of manufacturing industry, the

restrictions on trade, the falling of the land out of cultivation, the conversion of arable land into pasture, the drain from absentee rents and pensions, had gradually impoverished Ireland to an alarming extent. The peasantry were almost on the brink of starvation.

A potent voice was now to be raised on behalf of the wretched country. In 1720 Swift published his first pamphlet on Irish affairs: *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures*. Swift became Dean of St. Patrick's in 1713, but he had lived seven years in Dublin as an undergraduate of Trinity College, and though he left Ireland when he was twenty-one, and took his M.A. at Oxford, he returned in 1694 to become Vicar of Kilroot, near Carrickfergus, becoming, five years later, Rector of Laracor, in the Diocese of Meath, so that he was well qualified by residence in the country to call attention to its most urgent needs. In a letter to Pope he gives an interesting account of the events connected with the pamphlet referred to, which throws much light on the government of Ireland at the time. "I have written in this kingdom", he said, "a discourse to persuade the wretched people to wear their own manufactures, instead of those from England. This treatise soon spread very fast, being agreeable to the sentiments of the whole nation, except those gentlemen who had employments or were expectants. Upon which a person in great office here immediately took the alarm; he sent in haste for the chief justice, and informed him of a seditious, factious, and virulent pamphlet, lately published, with a design of setting the two kingdoms at variance; directing at the same time that the printer should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law. The Chief Justice has so quick an understanding, that he resolved if possible to outdo his orders. The grand juries of the county and city were effectually practised with to represent the said pamphlet with all aggravating epithets, for which they had thanks sent them from England, and their presentments pub-

lished for several weeks in all the newspapers. The printer was seized, and forced to give great bail. After his trial the jury brought him in not guilty, *although they had been culled with the utmost industry.* The Chief Justice sent them back nine times, and kept them eleven hours; until, being perfectly tired out, they were forced to leave the matter to the mercy of the judge, by what they call a *special verdict.* During the trial, the Chief Justice, among other singularities, laid his hand on his breast; and protested solemnly that the author's design was to bring in the Pretender, although there was not a single syllable of party in the whole treatise; and although it was known that the most eminent of those who professed his own principles publicly disallowed his proceedings. But the cause being so very odious and unpopular, the trial of the verdict was deferred from one term to another, until, upon the Duke of Grafton's, the Lord-Lieutenant's, arrival, His Grace, after mature advice and permission from England, was pleased to grant a *nolle prosequi.*" The reference to the jury having been "culled" proves that jury-packing in political trials is by no means a recent institution in Ireland.

In 1723 the value of all the coin in circulation in Ireland did not exceed about £400,000; the copper coinage was deficient, debased, and in great part counterfeit. Owing to the high standard of gold in relation to silver, the latter decreased in proportion, with the result of a lack of small change. Bishop Berkeley alludes to this in the *Querist* when he asks: "Whether £4 in small cash may not circulate and enliven an Irish market which many £4 pieces would permit to stagnate?" He also enquired in a later number: "If we had a mint for coining only shillings, sixpences, and copper money, whether the nation would not soon feel the good effects thereof?"

In Ulster trade was hampered, on account of the lack of small coins, to such an extent that weavers were frequently

paid their wages in cloth, which they were occasionally compelled to exchange for half its value. The great want of small money at this time is further proved by the common use of *raps*, a counterfeit coin of such base metal that what passed for a halfpenny was not worth half a farthing; which raps appear to have obtained a currency out of necessity, and for want of better small money with which to give change. Under these circumstances application was made on more than one occasion to the English Government for permission to supply the deficiency, but on every occasion it was refused. At last, in 1724, a patent under the broad seal was granted to one William Wood, a large ironmonger and mine-owner, to coin £108,000 (Irish) worth of halfpence and farthings.

No sooner did the news of Wood's patent get abroad than a violent clamour was raised against his coin. Both Houses of Parliament voted addresses to the Crown accusing the patentee of fraud, affirming that the terms of the patent had been infringed as to the quality of the coin, and that its circulation would be highly prejudicial to the revenue and commerce of the country. The Commons asserted "that the said William Wood had been guilty of a most notorious fraud and deceit in coining the said halfpence, having, under colour of the powers granted unto him, imported and endeavoured to utter great quantities of different impressions and of much less weight than was required by the said patent".

There is little to be gained by following the history of Wood's halfpence save to learn how much political capital can be made out of a small matter. The flame of controversy on the subject was fanned by Swift, who in his *Drapier's Letters* roused the public ire to fever-pitch. The first of the series of letters was addressed: "To the Tradesmen, Shopkeepers, Farmers, and Country People in General of the Kingdom of Ireland". Under the fictitious character of a draper he began by assuring his illiterate audience that the subject to which he called their attention "is, next to your

duty to God and the care of your salvation, of the greatest concern to yourselves and your children: your bread and clothing, and every common necessary of life, entirely depend upon it".

"Now you must know", said Swift, "that the halfpence and farthings in England pass for very little more than they are worth; but if you should beat them to pieces, and sell them to the brazier, you would not lose much above a penny in a shilling. But Mr. Wood made his halfpence of such base metal, and so much smaller than the English ones, that the brazier would hardly give you above a penny of good money for a shilling of his; so that this sum of £108,000 in good gold and silver, must be given for trash that will not be worth eight or nine thousand pounds real value. But this is not the worst; for Mr. Wood, when he pleases, may by stealth send over another £108,000, and buy all our goods for eleven parts in twelve under the value. For example, if a hatter sells a dozen of hats for 5*s*. a-piece, which amounts to £3, and receives the payment in Wood's coin, he really receives only the value of 5*s*."

After a long delay, and only after an intimation that no Money Bill would be passed, an answer came to the petition of Parliament asking for the withdrawal of the patent. The answer was evasive. An enquiry was promised, which was entrusted to a Committee of the English Privy Council; samples of the halfpence were assayed by Sir Isaac Newton, then Master of the Mint, who reported them to be in accordance with the patent. The Committee reported that the King had acted within his prerogative, and that the patent could not legally be withdrawn. The report was sent to Dublin and circulated, but had no effect. The whole country got into a state of wild excitement; no one would take the halfpence.

The Duke of Grafton was not considered strong enough to cope with such a storm, so he was recalled, and in 1724

Lord Carteret was sent in his place; but, the storm continuing with unabated violence, the Government, under the advice of Primate Boulter, withdrew the patent and compensated Wood.

The steady stream of emigration caused by the unhappy condition of the country threatened to become a cataract. The Restoration had driven the greater number of sturdy, energetic Puritans out of three-fourths of Ireland. The disabilities under which the Dissenters laboured, joined to economic causes after the Revolution, were now doing the same thing with the Presbyterians of Ulster. In one year, according to Primate Boulter, 3100 Protestants emigrated from Ulster. They repaired chiefly to Pennsylvania, Western Virginia, and North Carolina, which were in a great measure peopled by them. The effect of this emigration upon the emoluments of the Presbyterian clergy was very serious. In a letter to Sir Robert Walpole the Primate stated that, owing to the emigration to America, the scarcity of corn, and the consequent loss of credit, Presbyterian ministers were in a very bad way, some who used to get £50 a year from their congregation not receiving £15.

The evils of absenteeism and the exaction of landlords aroused the wrath of Swift. "The landlords," he says, "either by their ignorance, or greediness of making large rent-rolls, have performed . . . so ill, as we see by experience, that there is not one tenant in 500 who has made any improvement worth mentioning; for which I appeal to any man who rides through the kingdom, where little is to be found among the tenants but beggary and desolation; the cabins of the Scotch themselves in Ulster, being as dirty and miserable as those of the wildest Irish."

Swift then proceeds to deal with the condition of the clergy in Ulster and the exodus to America, incidentally remarking that "the Ulster tithing-man is more advantageous to the clergy than any other in the kingdom". He says that in

his opinion "the directions for Ireland are very short and plain, to encourage agriculture and home consumption and utterly discard all importations which are not absolutely necessary for health or life".

Such was the state of affairs in Ulster at the close of the reign of George I. The King was seized with apoplexy while travelling in his coach to Osnabrück, and died on the 11th of June, 1727.

CHAPTER XII

French Attack on Carrickfergus

The Famine of 1741—The Cruelty of Creeds: A Meditated Massacre—Dr. George Stone, Bishop of Derry, succeeds to the Primacy—An Abortive French Invasion—Thurot's Descent upon Carrickfergus—Attempt at Resistance—The Garrison capitulates—Provisions demanded and sent for to Belfast—John Wesley's Journal—Supplies arrive, and the French depart—Thurot attacked in the Irish Sea—Loses 300 Men, and is shot through the Heart—Death of George II.

Dr. Hugh Boulter, who had been appointed to the Archbishopric of Armagh in 1724, continued to take an active share in the management of Irish affairs until his death in 1742. His principal defect was his bitter hostility to the native Irish. In other respects he was just, and his sentiments were often such as to prompt him to benefit the country. He certainly contributed in many ways to the improvement of Ireland, and he was a great promoter of public works. He promoted, among other schemes of national importance, that for making a navigable canal from Lough Neagh to Newry, for the more effectual carrying on an inland trade in the northern province.

Potatoes had long been almost exclusively the sole means of sustenance of the peasantry, and the entire crop of the popular tuber being destroyed by a severe frost in November, 1740 (it being at that time the custom to leave potatoes in the ground until Christmas), a terrible famine ensued in 1741, when it was estimated that at least 400,000 people died of starvation.

The cruelty of creeds continued without abatement. In

1743, Dr. Curry, the historian, asserts that "an ancient nobleman and privy councillor [whom, however, he does not name] openly declared in council: 'that as the Papists had begun the massacre on them, about a hundred years before', so he 'thought it both reasonable and lawful, in their parts, to prevent them, at that dangerous juncture, by first falling upon them'". Curry, who was a contemporary of the events he chronicles, states that, "so entirely were some of the lower northern Dissenters possessed and influenced by this prevailing prepossession and rancour against Catholics, that in the same year, and for the same declared purpose of prevention, a conspiracy was actually formed by some of the inhabitants of Lurgan, to rise in the night-time and destroy all their neighbours of that denomination in their beds". This inhuman design, he says, was known and attested by several inhabitants of Lurgan, and an account of it was transmitted to Dublin by a respectable linen-merchant of that city then at Lurgan. It was also frustrated "by an information of the honest Protestant publican in whose house the conspirators had met to settle the execution of their scheme, sworn before the Rev. Mr. Ford, a Justice of the Peace in that district, who received it with horror, and with difficulty put a stop to the intended massacre".

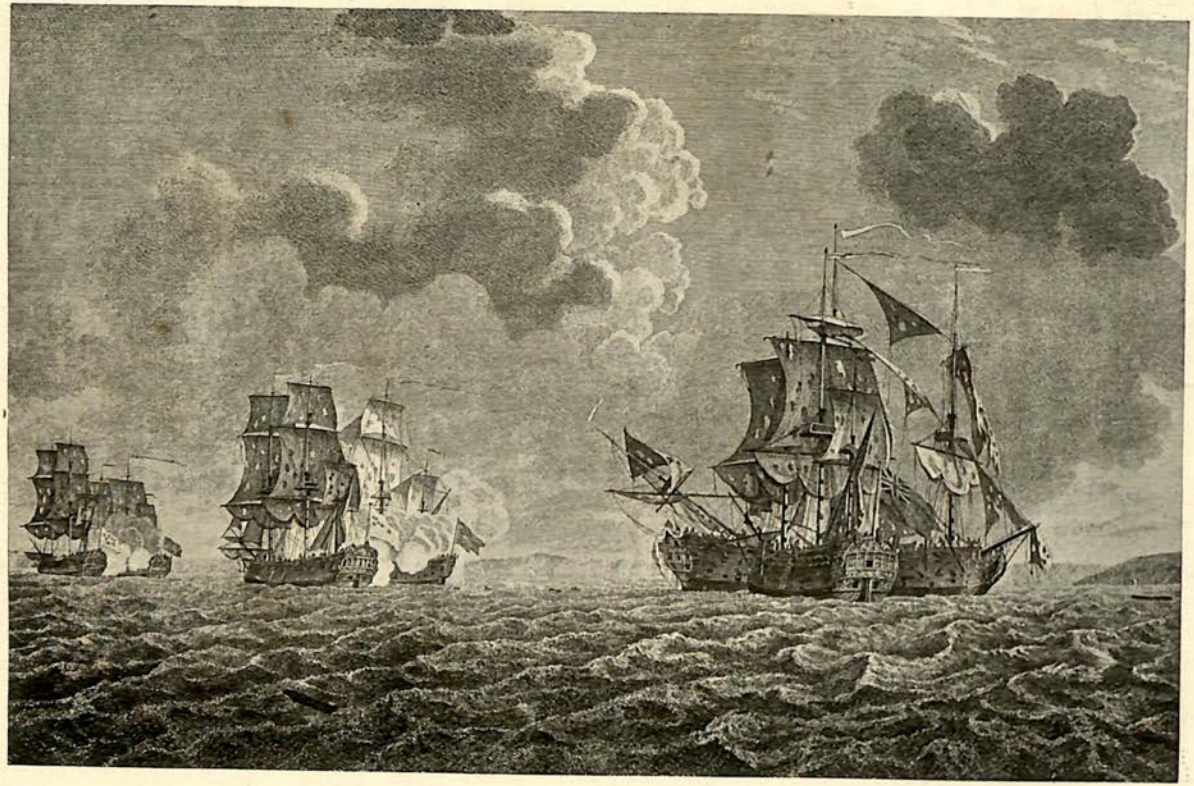
In 1742, the Primacy of the Irish Church becoming vacant by the death of Dr. Boulter, Bishop Hoadley was appointed to the See of Armagh, but was in a short time succeeded by Dr. George Stone, the Bishop of Derry, who possessed in an eminent degree the qualifications needed to be the political successor of Archbishop Boulter. In 1745 Lord Chesterfield became Lord-Lieutenant, and the stringency of the Penal Laws was for a time relaxed.

Profound quiet now reigned in Ulster, and even when the Scottish rebellion broke out, in 1745, there was no corresponding movement in Ireland. In Ulster the cause of Charles Edward found no adherents. The rebellion was crushed

at Culloden, on the 16th of April, 1746, and on the 25th of the same month three Lords Justices (Archbishop Hoadley, Lord Chancellor Newport, and Henry Boyle, the Speaker of the House of Commons) were appointed to receive the reins of Government from Lord Chesterfield, who was succeeded by the Earl of Harrington.

In January, 1747, Bishop Berkeley asks in one of his letters: "Is there any apprehension of an invasion upon Ireland?" But rumour, though busy, did not justify her alarming statements until twelve years later, when preparations of an intended invasion from France took definite shape. The year 1756 witnessed the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, and hostilities between England and France in Canada culminated in the victory of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham in 1759, and the acquisition of the Dominion a year later. In 1759 armaments were being prepared at Havre and Vannes for a descent on some indefinite part of the coast of Ireland. A powerful fleet, under Admiral Conflans, lay at Brest, to convoy the expedition, and another squadron, under the celebrated Thurot, was to sail from Dunkirk to engage the attention of the English elsewhere. At this time, however, England had her Rodney and her Hawke. The latter admiral defeated the Brest fleet on the 20th November, in an action off Quiberon; the expedition from Normandy did not sail at all; the Dunkirk squadron, which consisted of only five frigates, having sailed on the 3rd of October, and proceeded northwards, was driven by storms to seek shelter in ports of Sweden and Norway. On these inhospitable coasts, and among the western isles of Scotland, Thurot passed the winter.

The ships under Thurot's command were the *Maréchal Belleisle*, of forty-eight guns; the *Blonde* and the *Begon*, each of thirty-six guns; and the *Terpsichore* and *Amaranthe*, each of twenty-four guns; and two cutters as tenders, carrying between 700 and 800 sailors, and about 1400 soldiers.



THE DEFEAT OF THUROT'S SHIPS IN THE IRISH SEA, 26th Feb., 1760

After a painting by Francis Swaine

One of the ships, the *Amaranthe*, deserted, and returned to France, another disappeared and was never again heard of, and with the remaining three, Thurot, on Thursday, the 21st of February, 1760, appeared off Island Magee, standing inshore for the Bay of Carrickfergus, where the vessels came to anchor scarcely three miles distant from the town and within musket-shot of the point of Kilroot.

The small garrison of Carrickfergus consisted of four companies of the 62nd Regiment, which did not amount to 150 men, who were at the moment exercising in a field half a mile from the town on the Belfast road. At a quarter after eleven o'clock the guard was turned out, made up, and marched to relieve the guard on the French prisoners in the castle, an old and ruinous fortification, built upon a rock which adjoins the town and projects into the bay. The rest of the men continued in the field, where intelligence soon arrived that three ships, which at first were taken for Indiamen, and then for an English frigate and two store-ships, had seized a couple of fishing-boats, and with these boats and several others were plying between the shore and the ships landing soldiers. An order was immediately dispatched to the castle by Colonel Jennings, the commanding officer, for both guards to continue under arms, and to double the sentries over the French prisoners, with directions that a strict watch should be kept over them until it could be ascertained whether the disembarking troops were friends or enemies.

The garrison soldiers, most of whom were recruits, then marched from the exercise-field to the market-place of Carrickfergus, and the adjutant, Lieutenant Benjamin Hall, was dispatched with a small party to reconnoitre. From the rising ground upon which he posted himself Hall observed eight boats landing armed men, who formed in detached bodies, and took up the most advantageous positions they could find. After posting his little party, Hall left them,

with instructions to fire upon the French troops as they advanced, and to retard their progress as much as possible; and he hurried back to Carrickfergus, to inform Colonel Jennings that there could be no doubt of the hostile intentions of the body of men just landed, whom he estimated at 1000. Detachments were immediately made for the defence of the town and the approaches to it. The French prisoners of war were marched off to Belfast in charge of the sheriff, and escorted by forty townsmen under the command of James M'Ilwain.

Willoughby Chaplin, the Mayor, now called upon Colonel Jennings to prepare for a defence; but Jennings said that, considering the smallness of the force at his disposal, and the numerical superiority of the enemy, together with the ruinous state of the castle, he deemed all attempts at resistance would be futile. But the Mayor, notwithstanding the fact that there was a breach in the castle wall towards the sea of 50 feet, that it did not possess a single cannon mounted, and that there were only a few rounds of ball-cartridge for the soldiers, regarded the castle of Carrickfergus as impregnable, and angrily insisted upon resistance, accompanied by the threat that he would report the conduct of Colonel Jennings to the Government if he declined the defence. Upon this the Colonel made the best preparation in his power for a temporary stand, and his small force was joined by the Mayor, Lieutenant Heracles Ellis, and a few other zealous and loyal inhabitants.

The French advanced against the town in two bodies, one marching up to the east, or Water Gate, by what is called the Scotch quarter, the other crossing the fields to the north gate. Twelve soldiers and a corporal were posted on the wall. They fired upon the advancing enemy, when General Flaubert (the commander of the French troops) fell, his leg being broken by a musket-ball, and he was carried into a house in the neighbourhood. The next in command,

traditionally said to have been "the young Marquis D'Estrees", then led on the division, and entered the High Street by the Water Gate, where, after a few shots had been fired, it was joined in the market-place by the division that had forced its way down North Street with the loss of an officer and several men.

The small party of the 62nd by whom the town walls were defended, having expended all their ammunition, retired into the castle, and in doing so failed to secure properly the gate behind them, which was therefore easily forced by the French. Here the invaders were met with a very warm fire, and lost, with others, their leader, the Marquis D'Estrées. Upon his fall, the French troops whom he had led took up position under cover of the adjoining houses and an old wall, north of the castle, when Colonel Cavenac immediately assumed the command and formed for the assault. Noting this movement, and being aware that their ammunition was almost exhausted, the besieged determined to beat a parley and capitulate upon honourable terms, stipulating that the town should not be plundered. The number who surrendered amounted to 10 officers, 11 sergeants, 10 corporals, 5 drummers, and 102 rank and file. Of the garrison there had been 2 killed and 3 wounded, and in the encounter about 50 of the French were killed, among whom were 3 officers.

This surrender, which suited both sides, was followed by an agreement to furnish the French troops with provisions in six hours; but that could not be accomplished, there not being a sufficient supply in the town to meet the requirement. "On this," says John Wesley in his *Journal*, "Mr. Cavenec sent for Mr. Cobham, and desired him to go to Belfast and procure them [provisions] leaving his wife with the general as a hostage for his return. But the poor Frenchmen could not stay for this. At the time prefixed they began to serve themselves with meat and drink, having been in

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such want that they were glad to eat raw oats to sustain nature."

The French being masters of Carrickfergus, guards were placed by them in the evening on the different roads leading into the town, and sentinels in the houses of some of the principal inhabitants. On the first alarm the more timid had fled; those who remained shut up their doors and windows; but, to the credit of the French, it is recorded that "they neither hurt nor affronted man, woman, or child, nor did any mischief for mischief's sake, though they were sufficiently provoked; for many of the inhabitants affronted them without fear or wit, cursed them to their faces, and even took up pokers and other things to strike them". During Friday the French liberated some prisoners confined in Antrim jail.

As Carrickfergus could not supply the required quantity of provisions, the Rev. David Fullerton, a Presbyterian, left for Belfast, accompanied by a French officer with a flag of truce and a letter to the mayor demanding provisions to the value of about £1200, which, it was stated, would be paid for. The letter also contained a threat that if the provisions were not forthcoming without delay the French would fire both Carrickfergus and Belfast. The town of Belfast contained at that time less than 9000 inhabitants, but it was a prosperous trading-place, and entirely Protestant. Alarm was instantly spread through the counties of Down, Antrim, and Armagh, the most populous Protestant districts of the north, and within a few days 2220 volunteers were thronging towards Belfast. After some slight and unavoidable delay, cars containing the required provisions arrived on Sunday morning at Carrickfergus from Belfast, and these were followed by a drove of live bullocks. A lighter also arrived, laden with food-stuffs, and the French spent Sunday evening and Monday in provisioning their ships and in preparing for their departure.

On Tuesday, the 26th of February, 1760, the last of the French forces, which consisted of volunteer drafts from regular regiments of French and Swiss guards, embarked at four in the afternoon, taking with them, as hostages for the delivery of the French prisoners of war, the Mayor, the Port Surveyor, and the Rev. Mr. Fullerton. They had scarcely left when the volunteers began to arrive from Belfast.

Thurot was of Irish descent, his real name being O'Farrell. He soon discovered that there was little sympathy for his cause in the north of Ireland, and he made what haste he could, in spite of unfavourable winds, to leave Carrickfergus. He was encountered in the Irish Sea by three English ships, one of which, the *Æolus*, commanded by Captain Elliott, gave battle. Thurot attempted to board her, but was shot through the heart. His ships were shattered, and 300 of his men were killed.

On the 25th of October, this year (1760), George II died suddenly at Kensington of heart disease, and was succeeded by his grandson as George III.

CHAPTER XIII

The Ulster Volunteers

The Opening Years of the Reign of George III—Marked by the Establishment of Secret Societies—The Hearts of Oak Boys—The Hearts of Steel Boys—The Comments of Arthur Young on these Secret Societies—The War of American Independence—The Irish Volunteers—The Movement originates in Ulster—Ulster's Example followed by all Ireland—The Convention of Dungannon—Influence of the Volunteers—Free Trade obtained and a Free Parliament demanded.

The opening years of the long reign of George III were, in Ireland, marked by the establishment of secret societies for the redress of grievances which lay heavy on the people, and to which the Government displayed great indifference. The poorer classes, unable to endure any longer the grinding tyranny under which they were condemned to live, made spasmodic efforts by a war of outrages, conducted by secret oath-bound associations, to call attention to their unhappy condition, and to, in some measure, obtain relief. These organizations were in most cases defensive, but there were some propagandist or offensive bodies.

In the south this sad condition of things led to the establishment of the White Boys, so called on account of the members wearing, during their nocturnal visitations, night-shirts over their clothes. In Ulster the organizations were formed among the weaving or manufacturing small farmers, though they included many working men who possessed no land, and some small farmers not in any way connected with the linen trade.

The Presbyterians, as we have seen, suffered several

religious disabilities, and, like the Roman Catholics, paid excessive rents and oppressive tithes, though not to the same extent. The scarcity of money, not only as capital, but also as coin in circulation; the heavy taxation, caused by the war, and the consequent interruption of trade, and especially the high price of bread, produced dire misery, nearly always verging on, and sometimes terminating in famine. Such a state of things is bound to produce lawlessness and crime, and only requires some act of gross injustice to bear fruit.

The injustice which led to the formation in 1761 of the Oak Boys was duty work on roads. Every householder was required to give six days' labour in making or repairing the public roads, and if he possessed a horse he had to give six days' labour of his horse. The complaint was that this duty work was only levied on the poor, and that they were compelled to work on private job roads and even upon what were the avenues and farm roads of the gentry.

The title of Oak Boys, or Hearts of Oak Boys, was derived from the members in their raids wearing oak twigs in their head-gear. The organization spread rapidly over the greater part of Ulster. Although the grievances were common to Protestant and Catholic workmen, and there was nothing religious in the objects or constitution of the Oak Boys, the society was an exclusively Protestant body, owing to the total absence at that period of any association between Protestants and Catholics.

The Steel Boys, or Hearts of Steel Boys, followed the Oak Boys. They also were exclusively Protestant. The origin of this organization was the enormous fines for renewals of leases levied by an extravagant landlord, who thereby introduced into his part of Ulster an unjust and bad custom. The greater part of his tenantry, being unable to pay the fines, were evicted. This inhuman oppression called the Steel Boys into existence.

The Oak Boys and Steel Boys gradually developed into general reformers; they resisted the payment of tithes and exhibited a certain amount of republican spirit. Both societies had good reasons for combination, and they were free from religious intolerance and hatred. They committed many outrages, however, especially the Steel Boys. Arthur Young, referring to members of these societies, says: "Acts were passed for their punishment, which seemed calculated for the meridian of Barbary. This arose to such a height, that by one Act they were to be hanged under circumstances without the common formalities of a trial, which though repealed by the following session, marks the spirit of punishment; while others remain yet the law of the land, that would, if executed, tend more to raise than quell an insurrection. From all which it is manifest that the gentlemen of Ireland never thought of a radical cure, from overlooking the real cause of disease, which, in fact, lay in themselves, and not in the wretches they doomed to the gallows. Let them", he continues, "change their own conduct entirely, and the poor will not long riot. Treat them like men who ought to be as free as yourselves: put an end to that system of religious persecution which for seventy years has divided the kingdom against itself; in these two circumstances lies the cure of insurrection, perform them completely and you will have an affectionate poor, instead of oppressed and discontented vassals."

The Oak Boys and Steel Boys did not last long, and when put down did not revive, because the general exodus to America carried off all those who were most energetic and intolerant of oppression, and at the same time relieved the labour market to some extent; but chiefly because the grievances which led to their formation were redressed. Some of them who were taken and tried at Carrickfergus escaped through the unwillingness of the jury to bring in a verdict against them.

The dispute and subsequent war with the American colonies was especially prejudicial to Ulster. The exportation of Irish linen to America had been very considerable, and now that source of national wealth was completely closed by an embargo which was laid upon the exportation of provisions from Ireland to the rebellious colonies. The effect was disastrous. Wool and black cattle, as well as land, fell suddenly in value, and in many places the rents could hardly be collected. As the American fisheries were now cut off, it became necessary to supply their place, and on the 11th of October, 1775, the matter was brought before the English House of Commons, with the result that it was resolved to encourage the Newfoundland fishery, and it was also resolved that it would be lawful to export from Ireland clothes and accoutrements for such regiments on the Irish establishment as were employed abroad; and that a bounty of five shillings a barrel should be allowed on all flax-seed imported into Ireland, as a remedy against the evils apprehended from the cutting off of the supply from America.

England being at this time (1779) involved in war with America, France, and Spain, and Ireland being threatened with invasion, it was deemed prudent, as regular troops had been withdrawn for service elsewhere, and public funds were unavailable for the payment of the militia, to entrust the defence of Ireland to Volunteer forces. The movement originated in Belfast, and the example of Ulster spread rapidly throughout the country. Large military associations were formed, and all classes took up arms to resist foreign invasion. The spirit of Volunteering absorbed the energies of both classes and masses, and, popular sentiment running in this direction, the country became very tranquil, and with universal drill, observance of the law became also universal.

The Government, satisfied with the *bona fides* of the phenomenally large number of Volunteers, supplied them with arms; but they made at the same time an effort to bring the

new force, thus formed, under the immediate control of the Crown, in which attempt they were unsuccessful. The movement, having become popular, could not be restrained, and in the end the State sanctioned what it could not suppress. In 1780 the Volunteer force in Ireland was computed to be nearly 40,000 strong, and composed of well-appointed and perfectly disciplined men.

Being thus acknowledged by the Government, the Volunteers soon began to show that their object was by no means confined to the defence of the kingdom against the attacks of foreign enemies, for they proceeded to canvass the political questions of the day, and declared their intention to unite in demanding and protecting the national rights. The movement became general, without distinction of creed, and when Parliament met on the 12th of October, 1779, and the address was carried by the Speaker to the Lord-Lieutenant, the streets of the capital were lined by the Dublin Volunteers, under the command of the Duke of Leinster. Later the thanks of the House of Lords to the Volunteers throughout the country was carried with but one dissentient voice. Riots ensued in Dublin, the populace being pacified only by the personal influence of members of the lawyers' corps of the Volunteers.

Alarmed at the conduct of the Irish Volunteers, and at the spirit shown in the Irish Parliament, Lord North, as Premier, laid before the English House of Commons his three propositions for the relief of Irish commerce, which consisted in allowing Ireland free export of her wool and woollen manufactures, as well as of glass and all kinds of glass manufactures, and free trade with the British plantations, on certain conditions, of which the basis was an equality of taxes and customs.

These propositions had, however, little effect in calming the agitation in Ireland. The Volunteers, having obtained free trade, now sank all other objects in asserting the constitutional

rights of Ireland, and resolved to obtain a free Parliament. Constant correspondence was carried on between the various armed associations in order to ensure uniformity of action, and they made no secret of their intention to retain their arms until they had succeeded in obtaining the independence of Ireland. Early in 1780 they entered upon a "plan of campaign", arranging reviews for the summer and choosing their officers. In addition they now commenced to publicly announce their decisions, and state their opinions on public affairs. These were printed in the newspapers, and were markedly unanimous in declaring the general opinion that Ireland was an independent kingdom, and that no power but the King, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland could make laws to bind the Irish people, who were ready to risk their lives in resisting the encroachments of any external legislature.

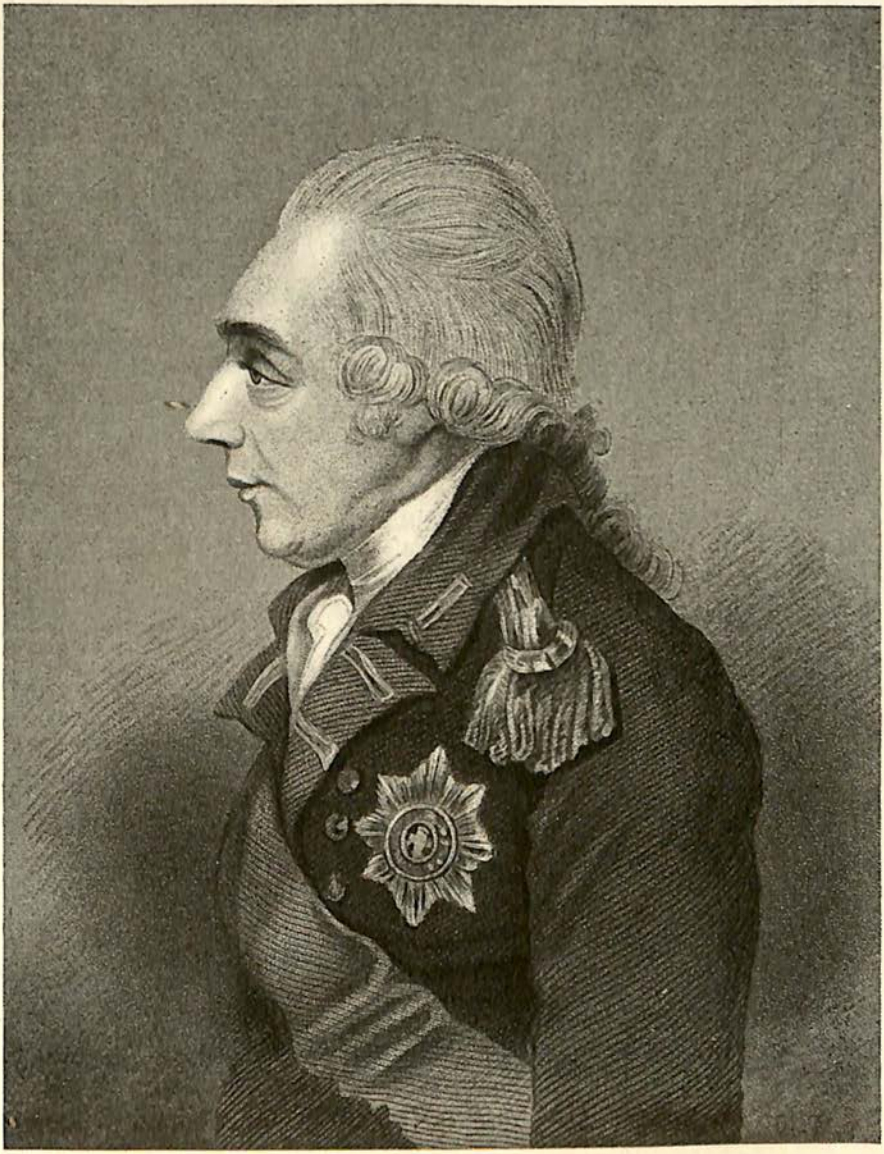
The session of 1780 closed on the 2nd of September, and the Earl of Buckinghamshire, having displeased the ministry by the weakness of his administration, was recalled, the Earl of Carlisle being sent to replace him. The new Viceroy found the people greatly agitated by the great question of legislative independence. During the summer of 1781 reviews of the Volunteers were held in various parts of the country, and caused much excitement. The organization of the Volunteer movement made phenomenal progress, and when Lord Carlisle met the Irish Parliament on the 9th of October it was evident, from the conciliatory tone of his address, that he dare not risk a stronger policy than that of his predecessor. The Lord-Lieutenant omitted all reference to the Volunteers, whom the Government wished to discourage and eventually disarm. A vote of thanks to the Volunteers was, nevertheless, passed unanimously, "for their exertions and continuance, and for their loyal and spirited declarations on the late expected invasion". The resolution was proposed by Mr. John O'Neill of Shane's Castle; it was

opposed by Mr. Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare; but, the Government having been obliged to acquiesce, it was carried without a division. It may therefore be regarded as a triumph for Ulster.

The Government, strong and secure in their majority, cared not to make concessions to popular demands. Such concessions as they had been forced to make were granted grudgingly, and frequently too late to please the people who had clamoured for them. Such a condition of things could not long continue. The first movement toward amelioration was made by the officers of the southern battalion of the first Ulster regiment of Volunteers, commanded by Lord Charlemont, who met at Armagh on the 28th of December, 1781, to consult on the state of public affairs, and who, having declared that they beheld with consternation the little attention paid by the majority of their representatives in Parliament to the constitutional rights of Ireland, invited all Volunteer Associations throughout the province to send delegates to a meeting to be held in Dungannon on Friday, the 15th of February, 1782, to deliberate on the alarming aspect of public affairs.

The proceedings of the Ulster Volunteers had been marked by moderation and firmness as well as by their numerical strength. In the Volunteers themselves were admirably combined the characteristics of the citizen and the soldier. They were steady and peaceable, strong and self-reliant, and full of the dignity which springs from a consciousness of difficult duties well performed. They seemed each and all moved by the sentiment which inspires the sentinel to whom "that hour is regal when he mounts on guard".

The invitation of the Ulster regiment won a ready response from 143 Volunteer corps of the province, and the Government, though provoked, looked on powerless to prevent the meeting or to disperse the assembly. The delegates met at



JAMES CAULFIELD, EARL OF CHARLEMONT

From an engraving by Samuel Freeman

Dungannon on the appointed day. Most of them were large landed proprietors and of recognized patriotic proclivities; they felt the gravity of the proceedings in which they were taking part, proceedings which might involve unlooked-for consequences to the country. The meeting took place in the church, the chairman being Colonel William Irvine, and among the more distinguished men present was the Earl of Charlemont. Twenty-one resolutions were adopted, which were in substance as follows:—

"That whereas it has been asserted, that Volunteers, as such, could not with propriety debate, or publish their opinions on political subjects, or on the conduct of Parliament or public men: Resolved, that a citizen by learning the use of arms does not abandon any of his civil rights; Resolved, that the claim of any body of men other than the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance; that the powers exercised by the Privy Councils of both kingdoms, under colour or pretence of the law of Poynings, are unconstitutional and a grievance; that the Ports of Ireland are by right open to all foreign countries not at war with the King; that a Mutiny Bill, not limited in point of duration from session to session, is unconstitutional; that the independence of the judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland as in England." The Volunteers also stated that it was their "decided and unalterable determination to seek a redress of these grievances", and as they declared they held "the right of private judgment in matters of religion to be equally sacred in others as" themselves, they rejoiced "in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects"; and conceived "the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland".

Such was the famous convention of Dungannon. Its resolutions were adopted by all the Volunteer corps of Ireland,

and served as the bases of Parliamentary proceedings in both countries. No sooner had the proceedings been made public than a new spirit seemed to animate the popular party. The Volunteers in other parts of the country held meetings, committees were formed, and a bond of frequent correspondence established, while a central national committee regulated the movements of this new force in politics.

CHAPTER XIV

The Volunteer Movement

Address by the Volunteers to the Minority in both Houses of Parliament—The Minority make a Move—Lord Carlisle succeeded as Viceroy by the Duke of Portland—Grattan's Motion for a Declaration of Rights—Grattan's Views and those of Flood opposed—Parliament sides with Grattan, and the Volunteers with Flood—The Belfast First Volunteers address Grattan—Review held in Belfast—Popular Clamour for Parliamentary Reform.

The spirit in which the Ulster Volunteer corps acted may best be gauged by the following address to the Minority in both Houses of Parliament, which was adopted at the Convention of Dungannon: "We thank you for your noble and spirited, though ineffectual efforts, in defence of the great and commercial rights of your country. Go on! the unanimous voice of the people is with you, and in a free country the voice of the people must prevail. We know our duty to our sovereign, and are loyal; we know our duty to ourselves, and are resolved to be free. We seek for our rights, and no more than our rights; and in so just a pursuit, we should doubt the being of Providence if we doubted of success."

Four members from each county of Ulster having been appointed as a committee until the next general meeting, one of the first acts of the Ulster Committee was to publish an address to the electors of members of Parliament in the province.

"Delegated by the Volunteers assembled at Dungannon," reads this document, "we call on you to support the constitutional and commercial rights of Ireland; to exert the important privileges of freemen at the ensuing election, and

to proclaim to the world that you at least deserve to be free. Regard not the threats of landlords or their agents, when they require you to fail in your duty to God, to your country, to yourselves, to your posterity. The first privilege of a man is the right of judging for himself, and now is the time for you to exert that right. It is a time pregnant with circumstances, which revolving ages may not again so favourably combine. The spirit of liberty is gone abroad, it is embraced by the people at large, and every day brings with it an acquisition of strength. The timid have laid aside their fears, and the virtuous sons of Ireland stand secure in their numbers. Undue influence is now as despised as it has ever been contemptible; and he who would dare to punish an elector for exerting the rights of a freeman, would meet what he would merit—public detestation and abhorrence.

"Let no individual neglect his duty. The nation is an aggregate of individuals, and the strength of the whole is composed of the exertions of each part; the man, therefore, who omits what is in his power, and will not exert his utmost efforts for the emancipation of his country because they can at best be the efforts of but one man, stands accountable to his God and to his country, to himself and to his posterity, for confirming and entailing slavery on the land which gave him birth. Vote only for men whose past conduct in Parliament you and the nation approve. Do your duty to your country, and let no consideration tempt you to sacrifice the public to a private tie, the greater duty to a less.

"We entreat you, in the name of the great and respectable body we represent; we implore you, by every social and honourable tie; we conjure you as citizens, as freemen, as Irishmen, to raise this long-insulted kingdom, and restore to her her lost rights. One great and united effort will place us among the first nations of the earth, and those who shall have the glory of contributing to that event, will be forever recorded as the saviours of their country."

The Minority lost no time in responding to the address of the Volunteers. On the 22nd of February, 1782, one week after the Dungannon Convention, Henry Grattan moved an address to the King embodying the resolutions. Grattan's motion was lost by a majority of 137 to 68. The Irish Parliament was adjourned from the 14th of March to the 16th of April. In the meantime Lord North's Administration fell and the Marquis of Rockingham returned to office. Charles James Fox and Edmund Burke were members of this Administration. On the fall of Lord North's ministry, Lord Carlisle retired and was succeeded by the Duke of Portland, who was sworn into office as Lord-Lieutenant on the 14th of April. Fox communicated to the English Parliament a royal message, recommending to their immediate consideration the adjustment of the questions which produced so serious an agitation in Ireland, in order that there might be made "such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to both Kingdoms".

The new Viceroy met the Irish Parliament on the 16th of April, when Grattan moved as an amendment to the address his original motion for a Declaration of Rights, pointing out the principal causes of the discontent in Ireland, and declaring that to remove those causes, the VI George I c. 5, which asserted the dependency of the Irish Parliament on that of England, should be repealed, the appelate jurisdiction of the Lords of Ireland should be restored, the unconstitutional powers of the Privy Council should be abolished, and the perpetual Mutiny Bill repealed. This amendment, which embodied the Resolutions of the Dungannon Convention, was unanimously adopted.

Grattan in his speech referred to the rapid strides which the Irish people had recently made on the road to constitutional independence, and, declaring that he entirely approved of the meeting at Dungannon, he compared the proceedings of the Ulster Volunteers to those of the English

barons, which resulted in the securing of Magna Charta. In the course of his speech he said: "If England wishes well to Ireland, she has nothing to fear from her strength. The Volunteers of Ireland would die in support of England. This nation is connected with England, not by allegiance only, but by liberty—the crown is a great joint of union, but Magna Charta is a greater—we could get a King anywhere; but England is the only country from which we could get a constitution. We are not united with England, as Judge Blackstone has foolishly said, by conquest—but by charter; Ireland has British privileges, and is by them connected with Britain—both countries are united in liberty."

In addition to these expressions of loyalty, Grattan's motion contained passages which assured His Majesty that "his subjects of Ireland are a *free people*, that the crown of Ireland is an Imperial Crown, inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connection the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depend; but," he added, "the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom, with a Parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof. That there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the King, and Lords and Commons of Ireland; nor any other Parliament which hath any authority or power, of any sort whatsoever, in this country, save only the Parliament of Ireland."

The proceedings of the Irish House of Commons had been interrupted by the sudden change of Viceroy, and it was now too busily occupied with the great questions which it was called upon to decide to trouble about minor matters. So great was the change which had taken place in the House that many of those who had supported the most objectionable measures of the late Government now upheld the popular side with enthusiasm.

On the 17th of May the Earl of Shelburne in the Lords, and Fox in Commons, moved the consideration of the Irish

question, which was entered upon with the greatest calmness and good feeling. A part of what was demanded lay entirely between the Irish Parliament and the King, and therefore two motions were made and passed: the first that the Act of VI George I, entitled: "An Act for the better securing the Dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain", should be repealed; and the second: "that it was the opinion of the House, that it was indispensable to the interests and happiness of both kingdoms, that the connection between them should be established by mutual consent, upon a solid and permanent footing, and that an humble address should be presented to His Majesty, that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to take such measures as His Majesty in his royal wisdom should think most conducive to that important end."

These resolutions passed the Lower House unanimously; and in the Upper the only dissentient voice was that of Lord Loughborough. Ten days later the Irish Parliament met after an adjournment of three weeks, and the Duke of Portland announced in his opening speech the unconditional concessions made to Ireland by the Parliament of Great Britain. The news was received with an outburst of gratitude. These concessions, as expounded by Grattan, amounted to the giving up by England, unconditionally, of every claim of legislative authority over Ireland. They were grounded not merely on expediency, but on constitutional principles. They were yielded magnanimously, and all constitutional differences between the two countries were thereby terminated. A warm discussion followed, in which Grattan's great rival, Flood, Sir Samuel Bradstreet, Recorder of Dublin, and others took part. They took a different view of the concessions; but Grattan's arguments prevailed and the Address was carried by a division of 211 to 2. The House then, as an evidence of its gratitude, voted that 20,000 Irish seamen should be raised to supplement the British navy, and

a grant of £100,000 be made to carry out that object. Nothing was heard but mutual congratulations. A great and bloodless victory had been won by the Volunteers.

The death of Rockingham in July, 1782, broke up the Ministry. Lord Shelburne became Premier, with William Pitt as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Earl Temple succeeded the Duke of Portland as Lord-Lieutenant in Ireland.

Two parties now arose among the patriots, led by the rival orators, Grattan and Flood. In the first essential difference between these two men Flood was clearly in the right. He held that a simple repeal of the Declaratory Act of George I by England was not a sufficient security against the resumption of legislative control. Grattan, on the other hand, maintained that Ireland had not gone to England for a charter but with a charter, and had requested her to cancel all declarations in opposition to it. It must be admitted that Ireland had no charter. Her Declaration of Right was not a Bill of Rights, and Flood demanded a Bill of Rights. Whatever were the merits of the controversy it had the worst effects. Parliament adopted the views of Grattan; the Volunteers sided with Flood. The opinion of the Lawyers' corps of Volunteers was in favour of Flood's interpretation of the constitutional relations of the two countries. They considered that repealing a declaration was not destroying a principle, and that a State renouncing any pre-existing right was an indispensable guarantee for future security. They appointed a committee to enquire into the question, which reported that it was necessary that an express renunciation should accompany the repeal of the VI George I.

The Belfast First Volunteer company addressed Grattan on this important subject. Doubts, they said, had arisen whether the repeal of VI George I was a sufficient renunciation of the power formally exercised over Ireland. They thought it advisable that a law should be enacted similar to the address which had been moved to His Majesty, and

which embodied the declaration of the Rights of Ireland. Grattan's answer was laconic but explicit. He said he had given the fullest consideration to their suggestions; he was sorry he differed from them; he conceived their doubts to be ill-founded. With great respect for their opinions and unalterable attachment to their interest he adhered to the latter. They received a different answer from Flood, whom they admitted as a member of their corps.

Trouble now arose in Ulster caused by public expressions of dissatisfaction made by two Volunteer corps in Belfast. The Belfast review, the most important held in Ireland, was made the occasion for a striking demonstration. The first Belfast company, which took the lead in this movement, published on the 18th of July, 1782, an address to the different corps that were to be present at the review on the 31st, in which they made a declaration of their cause of discontent. They put forward as the grounds of their proceeding: "that the rights of this kingdom are not yet secured, nor even acknowledged by Britain, partly owing to the delusions of many sincere friends, to the perfidy of pretended ones, and to an error committed through precipitancy by our representatives in the senate". "Unless", said the framers of this address, "a spark of that sacred flame which but a few days ago glowed in every breast in Ulster be again excited, the glorious attempt of this country to procure its emancipation, instead of producing any real permanent good, will too probably be the means of depriving us of our rights for ever."

On the 31st of July about 4000 Volunteers, well armed and accoutred, assembled at Belfast to be reviewed by Lord Charlemont. Delegates assembled on the 3rd of August and proceeded to make a declaration of their sentiments in the form of an address to Lord Charlemont, as their reviewing general. Major Dobbs, as exercising-officer, moved the address, and inserted in it a clause expressing their full

satisfaction with the concessions granted by Great Britain. This clause was opposed by the discontented party, who moved as an amendment that it should be expunged; and after a debate of eleven hours the amendment was carried by a majority of two.

Parliamentary reform became now the supreme question of the day. On the 1st of July, 1783, delegates from forty-five companies of Volunteers in the province of Ulster met at Lisburn, in pursuance of a public requisition, and determined to call a general meeting of the Volunteer delegates at Dungannon on the 8th of September to consider the great question of the hour. On the date agreed the meeting was held at Dungannon as arranged, when it was resolved to hold in the capital a grand national convention in the month of November following, and this great convention accordingly took place.

In the meantime the question of retrenchment in the national expenses, and particularly in the military department, had been brought before the Irish House of Commons. On the 3rd of November Flood recommended the disbandment of the Volunteers, which caused not a little commotion in that body, and led to the Volunteer movement in its later manifestations of activity being regarded with popular suspicion and distrust.

CHAPTER XV

Defeat of the Volunteers

The Volunteer National Convention—Their Deliberations led by Flood and the Bishop of Londonderry—Flood's Panegyric on the Volunteers—The Struggle between Parliament and the Volunteers ends in the Triumph of Parliament—Theobald Wolfe Tone and the Dissenters of the North—Religious Animosity—The Defenders and Peep o' Day Boys—The Society of Orangemen—Outrages in Armagh—The Battle of Diamond—The Spirit of Conciliation—Wolfe Tone visits Belfast at the Invitation of Samuel Neilson—The Catholic Delegates of the General Convention welcomed in Ulster by the Protestants—Petition presented to the King results in Measures for the Promotion of Concord.

"The concessions made in 1782", says Viscount Bryce, "mark the first stage in the evolution of modern Irish nationality, created, not as in other countries, by the possession of a separate language and literature, or by pride in a separate history, but by the unwise policy of England. Grattan and Flood, Ponsonby and Langrishe, did not look back to, nor feel themselves the successors of, such Irish leaders as Shane O'Neill or Sarsfield. It was to the English, not to the Irish Celts, that they were linked by social and literary as well as by religious ties. England kindled among them, her own colonists, the flame of Irish national feeling when, among the Catholic Celts, it was dying away to a feeble spark, kindled it in Ireland, with the same folly as English statesmen showed in their dealing with America, by crippling Irish industries and humiliating the Irish legislature." Bryce proceeds to prove that the Irish Parliament was far from perfect, hence the need of the Irish Volunteers, and, he adds, of the Society of United Irishmen.

The Volunteer National Convention was held in Dublin on the 10th of November, 1783, when Lord Charlemont was elected chairman. One of the most active members was the Earl of Bristol, who was also Bishop of Londonderry; he and Flood took the lead in the deliberations, and the plan of Parliamentary Reform drawn up by them was the one eventually adopted. The meetings of the Convention continued, and Flood left one held on the 29th to carry the Bill of the Convention to the House of Commons. Here, in reply to Yelverton, the Attorney-General, who opposed the Bill, Flood said in the course of his speech: "I have not introduced the Volunteers, but if the Volunteers are aspersed, I will defend their conduct against all the world. By whom were the commerce and the constitution of this country recovered?—by the Volunteers. Why did not the Rt. Hon. Gentleman make a declaration against them when they lined our streets, when Parliament passed through ranks of those virtuous armed citizens, to demand the rights of an insulted nation? Are they different men at this day, or is the Rt. Hon. Gentleman different? He was then one of their body—he is now their accuser. He who saw the streets lined, who rejoiced, who partook in their glory, is now their accuser. What has changed them since that time? Are they less wise, less brave, less ardent in their country's cause? or has their admirable conduct made him their enemy? May they not say: 'We have not changed, but you have changed'? He cannot now bear to hear of Volunteers—but I will ask him, and I will have a starling taught to holla in his ear, 'Who got you Free Trade? Who got you the Constitution? Who made you a nation?—the Volunteers!'" Flood concluded by asking: "What do some of the greatest men in England say, speaking of the Volunteers? 'That the history of mankind, the annals of the world do not furnish such another glorious example of patriotism and moderation'; and now will any man condemn them if they wish to crown them-

selves with never-fading glory, and finish their labours by rendering perfect that Constitution that their labours have acquired?"

A heated debate followed Flood's speech, the discussion being kept up until three o'clock on Sunday morning. It was recognized by all that it was a struggle between the Parliament and the Volunteers. In the end Flood's motion was rejected, Grattan giving it but feeble support. As soon as the result of the division was known, the Attorney-General moved "that it is now become necessary to declare, that this House will maintain its just rights and privileges against all encroachments whatsoever", which was carried by a large majority.

The gauntlet had been fairly thrown down by the Volunteers, and the consequences might have been most serious to the country had not some of the popular leaders exhibited more than ordinary prudence. Lord Charlemont exerted himself privately and publicly to prevent a collision; and at length, on Tuesday, the 2nd of December, he adjourned the Convention *sine die*. This sealed the fate of the Volunteers. Their prestige and influence were gone for ever. "From this time", says Dr. Madden, "the power of the Volunteers was broken. The Government resolved to let the institution die a natural death; at least, to aim no blow at it in public; but when it is known that Col. the Hon. Robert Stewart (father of Lord Castlereagh) was not only a member of the Convention—a delegate from the County Down—but a chairman of a sub-committee, and that he was the intimate friend of Lord Charlemont, the nature of the hostility that Government put in practice against the institution will be easily understood. While the Volunteers were parading before Lord Charlemont, or manifesting their patriotism in declarations of resistance to the Parliament, perfidy was stalking in their camp, and it rested not till it had trampled on the ashes of their institution."

The Volunteers through the country received the accounts of their delegates with indignant amazement. They beat to arms—they met—and resolved. But the binding principle was relaxed; doubt, suspicion, and alarm pervaded the ranks that had been firmly knit; their resolutions, though still warmed by the spirit of fiery eloquence, were but sounding words, unheeded by a Government which had planted securely the seeds of disunion, and did not fear the threats of men without leaders, without mutual confidence, without reliance on themselves. The Bishop of Derry became the idol of the Volunteers, but it was beyond his power to restore them to their commanding position. Flood retired in disgust to England, and on his return in the following year introduced another Reform Bill, only to be again defeated. The Bishop of Derry was a bad adviser, being too bold and unguarded, and the Government, amazed at an extraordinary reply which he gave to an address of the Bill of Rights Battalion (an Ulster corps), seriously considered the advisability of his arrest. His reply concluded with a memorable political aphorism: "Tyranny is not government, and allegiance is due only to protection". He was, however, neither prosecuted nor arrested. It would have been a rash as well as a useless step. The natural progress of events effected what severe measures would undoubtedly have retarded—the suppression of the Volunteers. Differences of opinion gained ground amongst them, yet the Volunteers continued their reviews, they passed their resolutions, they published their proceedings. But month by month, and year by year, their number diminished, their reviews became less striking, their exposition of political opinion was less regarded by the people or feared by the Government. An attempt was made by Flood, Napper Tandy, and others, by addressing circulars to High Sheriffs, to convene meetings with the object of holding another National Convention; but the High Sheriffs were threatened by the Government, and

few of them had the hardihood to hold the meetings as suggested.

The Volunteers, deserted by most of their aristocratic leaders, now became a democratic association. In Belfast and Dublin they commenced openly to train people of all classes and sects in the use of arms, and the example was followed elsewhere; but the Government, reassured by the triumph of the Parliament, now took bolder measures. The standing army was raised to 15,000 men, and in February, 1785, a sum of £20,000 was voted to clothe the militia; these forces, however, were unpopular, and, the Volunteers having ceased to co-operate with the civil authorities for the preservation of the peace, the country soon became disturbed by scenes of tumult and violence, the more advanced section of the patriotic party, led by Wolfe Tone, and strong in the towns of Ulster, inclining to republicanism. Wolfe Tone himself declared that "the Dissenters of the North, and more especially of the town of Belfast, are, from the genius of their religion and from the superior diffusion of political information among them, sincere and enlightened Republicans".

Pitt hesitated for a time between repression and reform, but in the end Ireland fell under Pitt's displeasure, with the result that, until the French Revolution caused war again to threaten Great Britain, he left the Irish Government in the hands of a petty oligarchy whose policy was to augment its own power by every possible means.

In the autumn of 1788 the King's mind gave way. In Ireland the news of His Majesty's condition caused many to hope that the arbitrary oligarchy would be thrown out of power, and political excitement was intense. In anticipation of a general election, associations of electors were formed, bound not to vote for any candidate who refused to pledge himself to the test, which consisted of a percentage tax on the property of absentees, a settlement or commutation of tithes, restoration of sailcloth manufacture, protective duties, a

limitation of the pension list, and reform in the representation of the people. The tithe question, however, did not affect the north, where, as Grattan remarked, "a moderate modus" was adopted; but in the south tithes, church-rates, and rack-rents had driven the famishing peasantry to madness. Disturbances began in the north between rival factions called "Peep o' Day Boys" and "Defenders". This originated among some rustic folk who appear to have been Evangelicals and Presbyterians; but, Catholics having sided with one of the parties, the quarrel quickly developed into a religious feud, and spread from the County Armagh, where it began, to the neighbouring districts of Tyrone and Down. Both sides belonged to the humblest members of the community. The Protestants commenced attacking the houses of the Catholics at an early hour of the morning, hence the title "Peep o' Day Boys". The faction was also known as the "Protestant Boys" and the "Wreckers", and it has been stated by Plowden and other historians that from this lowly source sprang the Society of Orangemen. Plowden says: "Personal animosity was artfully converted into religious rancour; and for the specious purpose of taking off the stigma of delinquency, the appellation of *Peep-o'-Day Boys* was exchanged into that of *Orangemen*". In a pamphlet published in 1797, entitled *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, attributed to Arthur O'Connor, the oath of the Orangemen is given in exaggerated terms to the effect that the members swore to use "utmost exertions to exterminate all the Catholics of the kingdom of Ireland". There is no evidence that such an oath was ever administered to members of the Orange Society, and no such oath is taken in the Orange lodges of to-day. Madden says that "efforts were made to infuse into the mind of the Protestant feelings of distrust to his Catholic fellow-countrymen. Popish plots and conspiracies were fabricated with a practical facility, which some influential authorities conceived it no degradation

to stoop to; and alarming reports of these dark confederations were circulated with a restless assiduity".

It is strange that this subject cannot be referred to by historians in the cool, unbiased spirit which one would naturally deem to be most essential in a chronicler of events. In writing on the subject of intolerance there is no necessity to be intolerant. There were evidently faults on both sides, and lawlessness is a fruitful parent of crime.

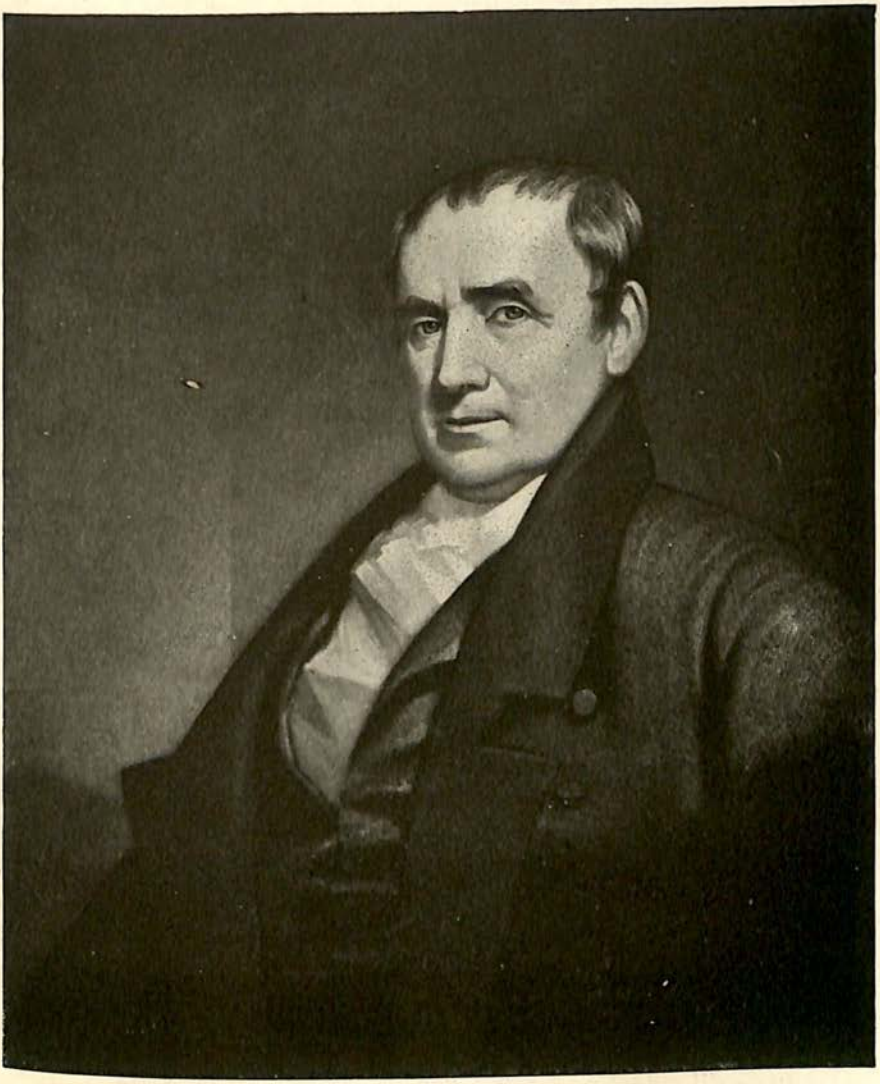
The County Armagh was at this period (1791) the scene of terrible outrages. These outrages were usually committed by torchlight. A Protestant colony having been established at Forkhill, near Dundalk, the presence of the new colonists was resented, and they were treated with savage cruelty. The victims included the clergyman of the district, Edward Hudson, who was shot at, his horse being killed; and the schoolmaster, a Scottish Presbyterian, named Alexander Barclay, who, with his wife and her brother, aged thirteen, had their tongues cut out, and suffered other mutilations, from the effects of which Mrs. Barclay died. Only one of the perpetrators of this horrible crime, a man named Murphy, was caught. He was convicted and hanged at Forkhill.

Another instance of the religious animosity existing in the province was the so-called Battle of Diamond. The Orangemen in Armagh had attacked the Defenders, who made some feeble efforts to protect themselves, though possessed of but few arms. This resistance led to a skirmish near the village of Diamond, on the 21st of September, 1795. The result of the fight was that four or five Defenders were killed. Thomas Addis Emmet says: "The Defenders were speedily defeated with the loss of some few killed and left on the field of battle, besides the wounded, whom they carried away. . . . The Catholics after this, never attempted to make a stand, but the Orangemen commenced a persecution of the blackest dye. They would no longer permit a Catholic to exist in the country. They posted up on the cabins of these unfortunate

victims this pithy notice: 'To Hell or Connaught'; and appointed a limited time in which the necessary removal of persons and property was to be made. If after the expiration of that period, the notice had not been complied with, the Orangemen assembled, destroyed the furniture, burned the habitations, and forced the ruined families to fly elsewhere for shelter." In this way, it is stated, seven thousand were driven from their homes.

But even in the midst of these feuds the spirit of conciliation was at work. On the 11th of February, 1791, a general committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland met in Dublin to apply to Parliament for relief from their disabilities. The convention concurred with their Ulster allies in adopting resolutions asking for complete repeal of the penal code, and it was resolved to send an address to the King, who had for some time been completely restored to health. The committee appointed their own delegates. With the view of securing unanimity amongst all classes of Irishmen, Theobald Wolfe Tone, a young barrister, a Protestant, visited Belfast in October, 1791. Wolfe acted as secretary to the delegates, and he visited Belfast on the invitation of a Volunteer Club, composed of such men as Samuel Neilson, editor of the *Northern Star* newspaper; Robert Simms; and Thomas Russell.

The Catholic delegates, having been duly elected, held their first meeting in Taylor's Hall, Dublin, on the 2nd of December, 1792. One of their first measures was to frame the proposed petition to the King, and five delegates were chosen to present the address. On their way to London it was decided to make a detour through Belfast. Here the principal Protestants called upon the Dublin delegates to bid them welcome; and as the Catholic deputies were departing for Donaghadee, the Protestant populace took the horses from their carriages, and drew the vehicles through the streets, amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. The Catholics responded with much



MATTHEW CAREY, PUBLISHER OF THE FIRST IRISH VOLUNTEER JOURNAL

From an engraving of the portrait by John Neagle

heartiness, and pledged themselves to maintain the fraternal union, which was the strength and honour of Ireland. The petition was presented to the King at St. James's on the 2nd of January, 1793, the King receiving the delegates most graciously; and the result was that when, on the 10th of the same month, the Irish Parliament assembled, the Viceroy (Lord Westmoreland) announced that he had it in particular command from His Majesty to recommend them to consider measures for the promotion of concord; and, as one, to give a serious consideration to the situation of his Catholic subjects.

CHAPTER XVI

Coercion and Conciliation

A Brighter Outlook—Some Popular Measures—Trouble in the North—The Gunpowder Bill and the Convention Act—Irish Interest in the French Revolution—The New Administration—Earl Fitzwilliam's Viceroyalty—His Dismissal of John Claudius Beresford—Fitzwilliam recalled, is succeeded by Lord Camden—Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, becomes an Active Member of the Irish Executive—Lord Carhampton's Vigorous Measures as Commander-in-Chief—General Lake proclaims the Major Portion of Ulster—Grattan's Indignation—Suppression of the *Northern Star* Newspaper—Trial and Execution of William Orr.

The outlook in Ireland now assumed a brighter aspect. The Emancipation Act of 1793, which was the outcome of the royal command, ensured His Majesty's Catholic subjects in Ireland the electoral franchise; the right of voting for civic magistrates; the privilege of becoming grand jurors; that, sitting as petty jurors, they should no longer be challenged for faith when a Protestant and Catholic were in litigation; the power to endow a college and schools; the right to carry arms, when possessed of certain property; the right to sit as magistrates, and to hold civil and military offices and places of trust under certain qualifications. They were also enabled to take degrees in the University.

Such measures as this caused a friendly feeling to arise between Ireland and England, even the Dissenters wished that their Catholic fellow-countrymen should be granted their desires. The death of Prince Charles Edward removed a bone of contention, and several Bills were passed which gave universal satisfaction, such as the Responsibility Bill, the Pension Bill, and the Place Bill, the last of which excluded

revenue officers, and vacated the seats of members of Parliament who should henceforth accept Government situations. With these was enacted Grattan's Bill to encourage the reclamation of waste lands by exemption from tithes for seven years. In spite, however, of these measures, dregs of the bitter spirit of religious animosity remained. A Proclamation issued on the 13th of February stated that outrages had been committed in the counties of Louth, Meath, Cavan, Monaghan, the county of the town of Drogheda, and even in the county of Dublin. Horrible outrages were committed in the county of Donegal, such as burning houses, destroying corn, and houghing cattle. A marauding party entered the house of Mark Cassidy, of Derry, in the county of Monaghan, and plundered the premises, carrying away arms and valuables. A large party of men, well armed, attacked and fired on a body of the King's troops near Ardee, who killed seven of them and wounded many. For some time after this incident the inhabitants of Ardee, headed by the magistrates, kept guard all night, so great was their fear of being massacred. A body of men calling themselves "Green-cockade Men" assembled in great numbers at Moneymore, in the county of Derry. They paraded in arms, and exercised in a public manner, and at last became so formidable that it was found necessary to send General White and a body of troops to suppress them.

Had these disturbances been confined to Ulster, Pitt's policy of reform might have been continued; but, unfortunately for the country's welfare, similar displays of lawlessness were made in the other provinces, and strong measures had perforce to be taken for their suppression. As a preliminary step, the Irish House of Lords appointed a Secret Committee to enquire into the causes of the disorders and disturbances which prevailed in several parts of the kingdom. From the Report furnished by this Secret Committee we learn that "an unusual ferment had for some

months disturbed several parts of the north, particularly the town of Belfast and the county of Antrim". It also stated that "stands of arms and gunpowder to a very large amount, much above the common consumption, have been sent within these few months to Belfast and Newry, and orders given for a much greater quantity, which it appears could be wanted only for military operations. At Belfast, bodies of men in arms are drilled and exercised for several hours almost every night by candle-light, and attempts have been made to seduce the soldiery; which, much to the honour of the King's forces, have proved ineffectual."

To remedy this state of things the Government carried through, in the session of 1793, a Gunpowder Bill and the Convention Act. The former is entitled "An Act to prevent the importation of Arms, Gunpowder, and Ammunition into this Kingdom, and the removing and keeping of Gunpowder, Arms, and Ammunition without Licence". The Convention Bill was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Clare. It purported to be an Act against Conventions, but Grattan declared it to be a false declaration of law, and said it deprived the subject of his constitutional right of petitioning effectually against grievances, by rendering the previous measure of consultation and deliberation criminal. He was particularly indignant because, by implication, it condemned all previous Conventions, including his own Volunteer Convention.

But, indignant as Grattan might be, there was some reason in the move made by the Government; for although the United Irishmen professed the same loyalty as the Catholic Convention, the statements of many of their leaders at a later period prove that much of the Report of the Secret Committee was based on truth, and that the United Irishmen were secretly training the peasantry to arms in support of French revolutionary principles, and were indeed looking forward to receiving assistance from France to carry their designs into effect. Several such societies corresponded with kindred

societies in France, and some of the Irish leaders visited France with the object of strengthening the bond of union formed by the correspondence. Among those who thus visited Paris was Lord Edward FitzGerald, who, while in the French capital, lodged with Tom Paine, and at a public gathering renounced his title, proposing, as Citizen Edward FitzGerald, a toast to the "speedy abolition of hereditary titles and feudal distinctions". In the spring of 1793 Napper Tandy, who was to have been tried at Dundalk assizes on a charge of distributing a seditious publication in the county Louth, on learning that bills had been found against him on another and more serious charge—that of holding communication with Defenders at Castle-Bellingham—fled to America. In England the admirers of the French Revolution, becoming bolder, joined in the cry for Parliamentary reform. The Government became alarmed, and, in May, 1794, suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, besides passing an Act against seditious assemblies.

Affairs in France now assuming a very serious aspect, a large part of the old Rockingham party decided to join Pitt's administration, among them being the Duke of Portland and Earls Fitzwilliam and Spencer in the Lords, and Burke, Wyndham, and others in the Commons. Lord Fitzwilliam became President of the Council; Lord Spencer, Privy Seal; the Duke of Portland, Secretary of State; and Wyndham, Secretary for War. Grattan was informed that Pitt was favourable to reform and to the Catholics, and was pressed to accept the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. This he declined, preferring to see Sir John Parnell continue in office, but he subsequently acted as Leader. Ponsonby and Grattan were summoned to England, and held consultations with the Duke of Portland and Pitt, with the result that it was generally understood that the entire emancipation of the Catholics was a condition of Earl Fitzwilliam's accepting the position of Viceroy of Ireland.

On the 14th of January, 1795, Earl Fitzwilliam landed in Ireland, where his coming was the cause of general rejoicing. On the 22nd the opening of Parliament took place, and the Lord-Lieutenant delivered a vigorous speech. Grattan, in reply, made an eloquent speech for war with France and cordial co-operation with England. He inveighed against the attitude of France, her mistaken views of liberty, the menace such views were to Europe, the danger to Ireland. "As formerly", said Grattan, "you struggled for the British constitution in opposition to the claim of the British Parliament, so now you contend in conjunction with Great Britain for that constitution against France, and for that constitution with everything beside included, you fight for your island."

Fitzwilliam, confident in the power of which he believed himself to be possessed, dismissed, amongst others, John Claudius Beresford from the Revenue Board, where "he was filling", said the Viceroy, "a situation greater than that of the Lord-Lieutenant . . . and subjecting my government to all the opprobrium and unpopularity attendant upon his mal-administration". Beresford flew to the King with his grievance; he was received, and it is believed that the result was the recall of Fitzwilliam, in whom the hopes of Ireland had been centred. On the 24th of March he resigned the government of the country into the hands of the Archbishop of Armagh and Lord Fitzgibbon as Lords Justices.

In spite of the change of government, Grattan brought in a Catholic Relief Bill, the second reading being fixed for the 4th of May. The opposition to the Bill was led by the Solicitor-General, who described it as a plan to overthrow entirely the constitution established by the Revolution of 1688. His motion that the Bill should be rejected was seconded by Lord Kingsborough, who said: "This Bill is to take the power from the Protestants to give it to the Catholics. . . . I have been a steady friend to the Catholics; but I never would give up the Protestant interest, or take

any step to destroy the Church of Ireland." The connection between the Catholics and the United Irishmen was the chief feature of a long speech against the Bill made by the Member for Hillsborough (R. Johnson), in which he referred to Hamilton Rowan, Wolfe Tone, and other leaders of the United Irishmen as "clamorous harbingers of blood and death". After a long debate, the Bill was rejected by 155 to 84.

Fitzwilliam was succeeded by Lord Camden; Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, became an active member of the Irish executive; and Lord Carhampton, grandson of Henry Luttrell, was given command of the army. Early in 1796 an Insurrection Act was passed, making the administration of an oath like that of the United Irishmen punishable with death; and a discretionary power was given to magistrates to proclaim counties. "Lord Carhampton," says Sir Richard Musgrave, "finding that the laws were silent and inoperative in the counties which he visited, and that they did not afford protection to the loyal and peaceable subjects, who in most places were obliged to fly from their habitations, resolved to restore them to their usual energy by the following salutary system of severity. In each county he assembled the most respectable gentlemen and landowners in it, and having, in concert with them, examined the charges against the leaders of these banditti, who were in prison, but defied justice, he, with the concurrence of these gentlemen, sent the most nefarious of them on board a tender, to serve in His Majesty's navy."

The leaders of the United Irishmen now commenced to graft a military organization on their civil organization. This was commenced in Ulster about the end of 1796, and in Leinster in the beginning of the year following. The secretary of a society of twelve became a petty officer; the delegates to the lower baronial committees became captains; the delegate from the lower to the upper baronial committee

was, in most cases, a colonel, but every commission higher than that of colonel was in the appointment of the executive directory. The society spread rapidly among the humbler classes, especially in localities where Orange lodges were established.

On the 13th of March, 1797, General Lake, commanding the northern district, issued a proclamation at Belfast virtually placing a great part of Ulster under martial law, and ordering all persons to surrender their arms and ammunition. On March the 17th, attention was called in Parliament to Lake's proclamation. The attention of the Lord-Lieutenant being drawn to this, he sent a message to the House stating that he had proclaimed the counties of Antrim, Derry, Donegal, Down, and Tyrone in a state of disturbance, owing to their insurrectionary spirit, and had ordered Lake to act. Grattan revolted against "attainting one entire province of Ireland of high treason". Ulster should recover her liberty; military tyranny must fail, though "many of their enemies do not scruple to express a wish for a rebellion in the north". He moved that the Viceroy be asked to recall his proclamation. This was defeated by 127 to 16.

At this time there were in the County Antrim over 22,000 men enrolled in the ranks of the United Irishmen, who, in addition, according to papers seized in Belfast on the 10th of May, 1797, possessed nearly 3000 guns, 1200 bayonets, 300 pistols, 250 swords, nearly 3500 pikes, 20,000 ball cartridges, more than 50,000 balls, 900 pounds of powder, 8 cannons, and 1 mortar.

After his proclamation in March, General Lake increased the rigour of military government in the north, and the people were further exasperated by numerous outrages, sometimes unprovoked and unnecessary, committed by the soldiery. Houses were plundered and demolished on the mere suspicion that the inhabitants were United Irishmen. A newspaper called the *Morning Star*, edited by Samuel

Neilson and printed at Belfast by Robert and William Simms, was seized, and the brothers Simms were arrested and sent to Newgate. The paper was still carried on, and the editor was required by military authority to insert a paragraph reflecting on the loyalty of the people of Belfast. This he refused to do, with the result that the offices of the paper were attacked by the military, and the machinery and plant destroyed. A regiment of cavalry called the Ancient Britons, under the command of Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, was particularly notorious for the part it took in outrages of all kinds. On one occasion, information having been lodged that a house near Newry contained concealed arms, a party of the Ancient Britons was sent to it, but found they had been wrongly informed, and, annoyed at their fruitless search, they set fire to the premises. This happened to be the first dwelling set on fire by the military, and the peasantry, ignorant of the fact, hastened to extinguish the flames, whereupon they were attacked and cut down by the soldiers, and thirty of them were killed, including a woman and two children. A man of seventy fled from the scene, but he was overtaken, and, while on his knees imploring for mercy, his head was deliberately struck from his shoulders with one sweep of an enraged cavalryman's sabre.

In the autumn of 1797 William Orr of Antrim was tried at Carrickfergus, before Lord Yelverton and Mr. Justice Chamberlain, charged with administering the United Irishman's oath to a soldier named Whately, who was the only witness against him. The jury retired at six o'clock in the evening, and remained locked up all night. The court was opened by Lord Yelverton at six o'clock on the morning following, when the jury desired to know if they might not find a qualified verdict, which would not affect the life of the prisoner. This being inadmissible, they retired, and after much deliberation brought in a verdict of guilty, at the same

time recommending the prisoner to mercy. On the day following Orr was brought up to receive sentence, when his counsel made a motion in arrest of judgment. This was overruled by the court. The counsel then stated that a most extraordinary event had just come to their knowledge, of which it was their duty to apprise the court. "Two of the jurors had made an affidavit, stating that on the night of the trial a considerable quantity of spirituous liquor had been conveyed into the jury-room, and drunk by the jury, many of whom were greatly intoxicated. The two jurors who made the affidavit admitted themselves also to have been in a state of intoxication; and one of them was threatened to be prosecuted as a United Irishman if he did not concur in a verdict of guilty; until, at length, worn out by fatigue and drink, he did, contrary to his judgment, concur in that verdict."

The affidavits having been produced, counsel was interrupted by Mr. Justice Chamberlain, who declared that such a statement ought not to be permitted; that it was evidently calculated to throw discredit upon the verdict, and could not be the foundation of any motion to the court. The unhappy Orr was then remanded, and on the day following was again brought up, when Lord Yelverton, in a solemn and pathetic manner, pronounced sentence of death upon him, bursting as he did so into tears. Orr protested his innocence. "The jury", he cried, "has convicted me of being a felon; my own heart tells me that their conviction is a falsehood. I am not a felon. If they have found me so improperly, it is worse for them than for me, for I can forgive them. I will say but one word more, and that is to declare, in the awful presence of God, that the evidence against me was grossly perjured—grossly and wickedly perjured."

Every exertion was made by Orr's family, his friends, and the country at large to procure a suspension of the sentence. The affidavit of the two jurors was followed up by a solemn declaration of other jurors to the same effect. The only

witness, the soldier to whom Orr was stated to have administered the oath, came voluntarily forward, and deposed before a magistrate, on oath, that his testimony against Orr was false. Petitions to the Lord-Lieutenant, praying that the prisoner's life might be spared, poured in from all parts of the country, but in vain. Three times a respite was granted, but notwithstanding all the evidence in favour of Orr, who was a man of high character and respectability, Lord Camden refused to interfere, and Orr was executed at Carrickfergus on the 14th of October, 1797, protesting his innocence to the last.

This judicial murder destroyed any residue of confidence which the people had in the law or the Government, and "Remember Orr" became a watchword with United Irishmen.

CHAPTER XVII

The Rebellion of 1798

Sir Ralph Abercrombie appointed Commander-in-Chief in Ireland—His Comments on the Methods of the Military—"Cossacks and Calmucks"—Lamentable Lack of Law and Order—A French Traveller's Account of his Experiences in Ulster in 1797—He finds Belfast in a State of Perfect Peace—Abercrombie resigns—General Lake fills his Place—A Ferocious General—The Bishop of Down's Account of the State of the Country—The United Irishmen become disunited—Presbyterians separate from "Papists"—Ulster's Strange Indifference to the Progress of the Rebellion.

In December, 1797, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, a skilled general, and noted for his upright conduct, was appointed to the command of the army in Ireland, but the disorderly and outrageous conduct of the troops, accustomed to a licence almost incredible, filled him with horror and disgust. In a general order which he issued on the 26th of February, 1798, Abercrombie censured the irregularities and disgraceful conduct of the military, which, he said, proved "the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which rendered it formidable to everyone but the enemy". He had had experience of the Irish. They made "excellent soldiers when they were well commanded". Critical service he had frequently entrusted to Irish regiments. "The people", he said, "were what the Government chose to make them." But of the purity and wisdom of that Government he had no favourable opinion. The gentry were uneducated, "only occupied in eating and drinking and uttering their unmanly fears. They know that they have been oppressors of the poor, and that a day of vengeance is at hand." They had

a great force of yeomanry, but applied to Dublin Castle for troops, and these were scattered about to harass the peaceful inhabitants. He tried to stir them up to manhood and self-reliance, and to reorganize the army. This, as his son remarks, "led to a singular struggle, in which the military commanders wished to restrain the licence of the troops, to protect the people, and to place the army in subjection to the constitution and control of the civil power; while the Government and the magistrates encouraged and promoted the licentiousness of the troops, disregarded the authority of the law, and licensed the oppression of the people". Having thoroughly investigated matters, Abercrombie came to the conclusion that "within these twelve months every crime, every cruelty that could be committed by Cossacks or Calmucks, has been committed here". Commanding the officers to watch over discipline and good conduct, the Commander-in-Chief emphatically directed them to "attend to the standing orders of the Kingdom, which positively forbade troops to act (except in case of attack) without the presence and authority of the civil magistrate".

This search-light on their methods by no means pleased the Government. The Duke of Portland angrily asked, in a letter to Lord Camden dated the 11th of March, how came such an order to be allowed which gave a triumph to Moira's friends "over the Chancellor and the heads of your Government?" Lord Moira, speaking in the English House of Lords of what he had himself seen, had declared: "My lords, I have seen in Ireland the most absurd as well as the most disgusting tyranny that any nation ever groaned under".

The state of the country was indeed terrible. When the courts sat, their action was sanguinary. "In one circuit there were one hundred individuals tried before one judge: of these, ninety-eight were capitally convicted, and ninety-seven hanged. One escaped; but he was a soldier who had

murdered a peasant." Camden, after a vain effort to resign, proclaimed the country to be in "open rebellion", and in March ordered the Commander-in-Chief to employ his troops "in the disturbed districts", and in districts in danger of becoming disturbed, and to "crush the rebellion by the most summary military measures". Abercrombie, with plenary powers, proceeded to the regions indicated and found nothing save tranquillity, and the people "very civil and submissive". Travelling without an escort, and accompanied by only one servant, he found the people quietly occupied in industrial pursuits, and, commenting on the state of the districts through which he passed, he wrote: "The late ridiculous farce acted by Lord Camden and his Cabinet must strike everyone. They have declared the country in rebellion when the orders of his Excellency might be carried over the whole of the country by an orderly dragoon, or a writ executed without any difficulty, a few places in the mountains excepted."

Abercrombie's experience coincided exactly with that of another dispassionate visitor to Ireland in 1797. De Latocnaye, a French royalist, who regarded rebellion and republicanism with aversion, made a complete tour, chiefly on foot, of the country from May to December. During that period, such was the hospitality of all classes, he was only six times at an inn. He, also, found the greatest tranquillity prevail. In Ulster he saw a number of men soberly and good humouredly digging the potatoes of a popular landowner, whilst women and children sang and helped. Unless informed, he could not have divined the "sedition". It was unjust to accuse the mass of the people with the guilt of a few murders. "I have heard so much said of the disturbances, assassinations, and conspiracies of which Belfast was the alleged focus", he wrote, "that it was not without repugnance I went thither. I was agreeably surprised to find the town in the utmost quiet (*dans le plus grand calme*)."

Abercrombie, disgusted, resigned, and on the 25th of

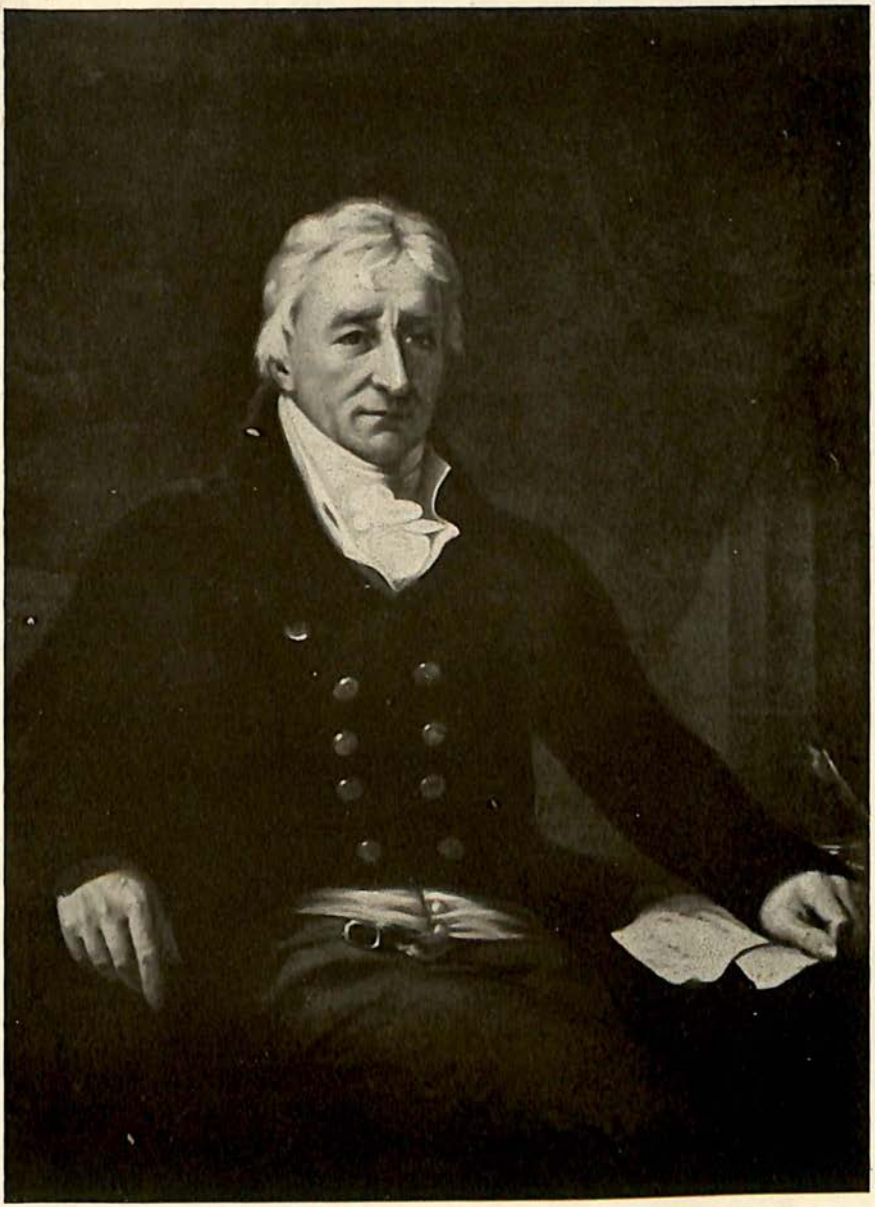
April the command was assigned to Lake, whose ferocity in Ulster had recommended him to the Government. A system of coercion and terror was now established, and the tranquil country was rapidly converted into a scene of tyranny, torture, and outrage, with homesteads on fire, provisions destroyed, families ruined, and all the atrocities which licentious ruffianly soldiers living at "free quarters" could inflict upon human victims. Death, by strangulation or the bullet, was common; but it was a merciful fate compared with the fearful floggings which tore off skin and muscles.

Lord Holland gives a vivid picture of the state of Ireland at this precise moment. In his *Memoirs of the Whig Party*, he says: "The fact is incontrovertible, that the people of Ireland were driven to resistance, which, possibly, they meditated before, by the free quarters and excesses of the soldiery, which were such as are not permitted in civilized warfare, even in an enemy's country. Trials, if they must so be called, were carried on without number under martial law. It often happened that three officers composed the court, and that of the three, two were under age, and the third an officer of the yeomanry or militia, who had sworn in his Orange Lodge eternal hatred to the people over whom he was thus constituted a judge. Floggings, picketings, death were the usual sentences, and these were sometimes commuted into banishment, serving in the fleet, or transference to a foreign service. Many were sold at so much per head to the Prussians. Other more illegal, but not more horrible, outrages were daily committed by the different corps under the command of the Government. . . . Dr. Dickson (Lord Bishop of Down) assured me that he had seen families returning peaceably from Mass, assailed without provocation, by drunken troops and yeomanry, and the wives and daughters exposed to every species of indignity, brutality, and outrage, from which neither his remonstrances nor those

of other Protestant gentlemen could rescue them." It was the contemplation of such a state of things that led Sir John Moore to remark to Grattan: "If I were an Irishman, I should be a rebel".

Goaded by "the hardest tyrannies" the United Irishmen, or The Union as it came to be called, determined upon action; but, as often happens, men who are friends in theory frequently disagree in practical matters. Some members of the Union did not consider the hour favourable to a decisive blow, others did, and dissensions arose. From one cause or another the Union rather abated than increased. One unequivocal symptom of its decline was the renewal of dissension between the Dissenters and the Catholics in the north. Sir Richard Musgrave tells us that most of the Presbyterians separated from the Papists in the year 1797; some from "principle, some because they doubted the sincerity of persons in that order; and others, foreseeing that the plot must fail and end in their destruction, . . . renounced their associates. Numbers withdrew because they doubted of success without foreign assistance. The Presbyterians of the Counties of Down and Antrim, where they are very numerous, and where they are warmly attached to the Union from pure republican principles, thought they could succeed without the Papists."

Of this spirit of disunion Plowden says: "Certain it is that the Northern Unionists generally held back from this time; the Protestants of Ulster were originally Scotch, and still retain much of that guarded policy, which so peculiarly characterizes the inhabitants of Northern Britain. Some barbarous murders in different parts of the kingdom were committed; but they do not appear to have been perpetrated by members of the Union, or persons in any manner connected with them. From the report of the Secret Committee, it appears, that from the summer of 1797, the disaffected entertained no serious intention of hazarding an effort in-



HENRY GRATTAN

From the painting by Sir Thomas A. Jones in the National Portrait Gallery, Dublin

dependent of foreign assistance, until the middle of March. Their policy was to risk nothing so long as their party was gaining strength. Whatever was the immediate cause of the Union's falling off, we find that from the autumn of 1797 the Roman Catholics, first in the North, and afterwards successively throughout the kingdom, published addresses and resolutions expressive of their horror of the principles of the United Irishmen, and pledging themselves to be loyal and zealous in the defence of the King and Constitution. The northern addresses admitted the fact, and lamented that many of the Catholic body had been seduced into the Union, and they deprecated the attempts which were made to create dissension amongst persons of different religions. This example was followed by the generality of the Dissenters."

On the 30th of March all Ireland was by proclamation placed under martial law. The proclamation stated that a traitorous conspiracy, existing within the kingdom for the destruction of the established Government, had been considerably extended, and had manifested itself in acts of open violence and rebellion; and that, "in consequence thereof, the most direct and positive orders had been issued to the officers commanding His Majesty's forces to employ them with the utmost vigour and decision for the immediate suppression of that conspiracy, and for the disarming of the rebels and all disaffected persons, by the most summary and effectual measures".

Such being the condition of the country, "measures were taken by government to cause the premature explosion" of the rebellion. Lord Castlereagh has been much condemned for this statement, but surely, if a rebellion is to explode, it is better that the explosion should be premature and abortive than that it should be allowed to gather strength and thus increase its powers of destruction. It is not our intention to follow the history of the rebellion of 1798, as the Province of Ulster was but little affected; for while the rest of Ireland

was plunged in the gloom of religious strife and all its concomitant horrors, "with no light but the twilight of terror", Ulster, hitherto the nursing home of insurrection and rebellion, maintained an immobility strikingly strange when contrasted with the surprising celerity and suddenness of her movements in the past. The vast majority of her sons felt that in the long, fierce fight for freedom of thought and speech they had won the day and might well rest content. Having seen of the travail of their souls, they were satisfied. All attempts to make them take arms to alter the existing order of things were made in vain; they turned with equanimity to cultivate the arts of peace as, for long, they had cultivated the arts of war.

In all large communities individuals can be found who, on account of idleness, ignorance, self-aggrandizement, cupidity, or any of the multitudinous motives that sway mankind, are willing to take part in any movement, however retrograde, that promises to fulfil their desires, and it is, therefore, not surprising that a few such were discovered in Ulster, chiefly in Counties Antrim and Down; but they were by no means men of light or leading, for the list of representative members of the United Irishmen in the whole of Ulster consisted of "a silversmith for Armagh, a Presbyterian clergyman for Tyrone, a probationer Presbyterian clergyman for Donegal, a farmer for Louth, an Adjutant-General for Londonderry, and a farmer for Monaghan".

These men no doubt deemed they were "serving the Lord", but they flagrantly disobeyed the remaining portion of St. Paul's injunction, for they were undoubtedly "slothful in business"; of which the proof is that at "a meeting of Colonels", the proceedings at which lasted several hours, there was "no particular business" done. No doubt "Colonels" in Ireland at this time were as plentiful as cranberries—as common, indeed, as Mark Twain says Generals were in New York during the American Civil War, when

one in throwing a stick at a dog, ran the risk of missing the canine quadruped and of hitting twenty Generals!

"A plan of insurrection was in contemplation by the National Executive; two members were deputed from the Ulster executive to form the said plan, in conjunction with certain deputies from the other provincial executive; the plan was for Dublin to rise and to seize on the Government, and the mail coaches were to be burned for a signal for the whole kingdom to act.

"These delegates returned and reported the same to the Ulster executive; the reporter complained that the Ulster executive had taken no measures to put the people in readiness to act; every application had been made to the executive to call the adjutant-generals together, but without effect; they were required also to summon the provincial delegates together to put the respective counties in a state ready to act, and that they did not obey; he thought they completely betrayed the people both of Leinster and Ulster, and he thought it the duty of the present committee to denounce and vote them out of office.

"The reporter then took a list of all the military through the Province, and their places of quarters, as nearly as he could ascertain; he then asked the different delegates if they thought they could disarm the military in their respective counties; Derry, Donegal, and Louth said they could; Down, Antrim, and Armagh, and the upper half of the county Tyrone thought they could not. He then asked them individually, if they thought the people they represented would act; they all said they would, except Down. Its delegate observed, that he could not exactly answer whether it would or not, but he would try and ascertain it by taking the sense of the adjutant-general and colonels."

It appears, however, to have been easier to "take the sense" of a Colonel than to goad him into action, for two days later another "meeting of Colonels" was held at Saint-

field, at which, although they had at a previous gathering "generally determined to act", it was stated that "several messages had passed between the different Colonels as to this resolution"; and "an adjutant-general had resigned", and at a meeting of "twenty-three colonels" "only two resolved for action, and the other twenty-one declared they would not act on any plan but on the invasion of the French, or on the success of the efforts of the insurgents about Dublin".

Of course the Colonels referred to were Colonels in the army of the insurgents. Their courage in the field was never tested, for some of them turned to the more congenial occupation of informers, others became apprehensive and wavering, and separating from their fellow-conspirators, endeavoured to make the line of demarcation as distinct as possible, while others were soon arrested and thrown into jail, and the country was carefully watched by the forces under General Nugent.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Insurrectionary Counties: Antrim and Down

Antrim rises—Henry Joy M'Cracken—James Hope's Story—M'Cracken attacks Antrim—Major Seddon warned, prepares to resist—The Rebels make a Spirited Attack—Lord O'Neil killed—Colonel Lumley wounded—The Dragoons retreat—Colonel Durham arrives with Reinforcements—The Rebels defeated—M'Cracken arrested and executed at Belfast—The Rising in Down—Henry Munro of Lisburn elected Leader—His Military Knowledge—Colonel Stapleton's Forces attacked—The Battle of Ballinahinch—Munro defeated—He is hanged at Lisburn—The Rebellion in Ulster suppressed.

But though Ulster as a whole did not take a part in the rebellion, small risings took place in Antrim and Down. In Antrim the person chosen by the United Irishmen as their General having, at the last moment, resigned his appointment, a spirited young man named Henry Joy M'Cracken was induced to accept the hazardous position of chief. The rising in Ulster had been delayed for two weeks after the 23rd of May (the day agreed upon) owing to some misunderstanding among the leaders, the betrayal of all their plans to Government, and the arrest of some of their number.

One of the leaders, James Hope, gives some interesting details which prove the effect the disagreement among the chiefs had on the rising in the north. "At the moment of taking up arms," he says, "Russell, the first-appointed General of Down, was a prisoner in Kilmainham. The Rev. Steele Dixon was appointed in his stead. The General of Antrim was arrested with Russell, but was liberated, and

had gone home when the orders commenced. It was agreed between him and another chief, who was to lead a forlorn hope in case of necessity, that I should attend either as aide-de-camp. The General of Antrim either misunderstood, or knowingly and wilfully misrepresented, the signal for rising on the 21st of May, and kept us in suspense until the beginning of June. Blood had been shed in the south, and the people in the north became impatient. I went to the General of Antrim, and told him that an irregular movement could not long be prevented. He said he would certainly call them out; I went among the people and told them what he said; they wanted to know who he was; I said they would know that when he appeared, not being at liberty to tell his name. The General summoned me, and sent me on a command to the south, and said he had called a meeting of his Colonels that day. I was met on my way by Henry J. M'Cracken, who stopped me, and said the General had not obeyed the signal for general action, and must be watched. I went home by his orders, and that evening he came to my house, we learnt that the General had resigned; and John Hughes, the informer, being the medium of communication between Down and Antrim, he sent me with a letter to Mr. Dixon, but he had been arrested that day. Hughes sent me subsequently to different places to look for him, but he knew well my labour was lost.

"The organization of the north being thus disarranged, the Colonels flinched, and the chief of the Antrim men, the forlorn hope party of the Union, not appearing, the duty fell on Henry J. M'Cracken; he sent fighting orders to the Colonels of Antrim, three of whom sent the identical orders to General Nugent, and the messenger he sent to Down proving unfaithful, the people of Down had no correct knowledge of affairs at Antrim, until they heard of the battle of the 7th of June. The greatest part of our officers, especially of those who were called Colonels, either gave secret informa-

tion to the enemy, or neutralized the exertions of individuals as far as their influence extended. I never knew a single Colonel in the County of Antrim, who when the time for active measures came, had drawn out his men, or commanded them in that character."

On the date above referred to, the 7th of June, 1798, M'Cracken led a body of insurgents in an attack on the town of Antrim, where a meeting of magistrates had that day been called for the prevention of rebellion. M'Cracken's object was to seize the persons of these magistrates and keep them as hostages, and with that view he attacked the town at two o'clock in the afternoon. A quantity of arms was known to be stored in Antrim, and of this the rebels hoped to gain possession.

General Nugent soon received intelligence of their intentions, and lost no time in sending orders to Blaris for the second light battalion, consisting of the 64th Regiment, and the light companies of the Kerry, Dublin, Armagh, Tipperary, and Monaghan Militia, and 150 men of the 22nd Light Dragoons, with two 6-pounders and two howitzers, to march to Antrim with all possible speed. Other reinforcements were ordered to hasten to the scene of danger, and orderlies were dispatched to Major Seddon, who commanded at Antrim, to inform him of the intended attack.

Antrim at that time consisted chiefly of one main street, terminated at one end by a district known as the Scots' quarter, and at the other by the garden wall of a house belonging to Lord Massareene, to the right of which a long narrow street, called Bow Lane, led into open country. Lord Massareene's garden wall commanded the main street, which ran parallel to a river called the Six-mile-water, and about half-way between the garden wall and the commencement of the Scots' quarter, in the middle of the street, stood the market-house, then used as a guard-house, in which prisoners were confined. At the corner of the street, where the Scots'

quarter turned off the main street, stood the churchyard, on rising ground and surrounded by a wall.

The plan of the rebels had been laid with deliberation; four columns were to advance upon the town on different sides at the same time. One of these, collected from the district between Antrim and Belfast, was to enter the town by the Belfast road, while a second column, gathered from Ballymore, Ballyclare, and Doagh, marched in by the Carrickfergus road, and joined the former at the end of the Scots' quarter. A third column from Connor, Kells, and Ballymena was to enter by a lane called Paty's Lane, which branched from the main street between the church and the market-place, and a fourth, from Shane's Castle, Randalstown, and Dunsilty, was to enter by Bow Lane, under Lord Massareene's garden wall.

When Major Seddon, at nine o'clock in the morning of the 7th of June, received news of the proposed attack on the town, he ordered the drums to beat to arms to assemble the yeomanry, and the inhabitants of Antrim were called upon to arm in their own defence. In the course of the morning news came in that the peasantry were rising in various parts of the country. Parties of yeomanry and regulars kept coming in, but the advanced guard of the second battalion, commanded by Colonel Lumley, with its two guns, only passed over the bridge from Lisburn (which led into the main street on the opposite side to Paty's Lane, and somewhat nearer the market-house) as the two columns of the rebels converged at the entrance to the Scots' quarter. The guns were placed in position in the main street, opposite to the bridge, but, in spite of the case-shot with which they were greeted, the rebels advanced boldly, their musketeers firing upon the troops by whom the guns were supported.

When the insurgents came within about 150 yards of the guns, they suddenly exposed to view a 6-pounder which they had brought with them, and with which they fired two rounds

of grape, and killed or wounded ten or twelve of the military. The gun, however, proved a poor one, for the second discharge damaged it to such an extent that it could not be fired again, and then the rebels rushed forward, and their musketeers, under their leader, M'Cracken, succeeded in getting possession of the churchyard. From this advantageous position they kept up a galling fire on the soldiers in the street; and, the main mass of the pikemen having run across the fields and formed in Bow Lane, to attack the military in the rear, it was found necessary by the latter to retreat with the guns to Massareene's garden wall. To cover this retreat the dragoons under Colonel Lumley charged past the churchyard into the Scots' quarter, driving the rebels before them; but in passing and repassing the churchyard they suffered considerably in killed and wounded, Colonel Lumley himself being amongst the latter. The yeomanry now retreated, and took possession of the Massareene garden, of which the wall (having a high terrace behind it) served as a rampart from which the guns could be protected while they served to arrest the progress of the rebels who were advancing along Bow Lane.

But in spite of the heavy fire which was kept up on them from the wall, this column of rebels continued to advance with the same intrepidity as the others had done, until Colonel Lumley, who was severely wounded, abandoned his guns, and, retreating with his dragoons across the river, proceeded along the Lisburn road to join the second battalion of the royal troops, who were within two miles of the town.

The majority of the magistrates had received timely warning of the state of affairs, and therefore had absented themselves; but Lord O'Neil, who had come from Dublin to preside at the meeting, entered Antrim about half-past twelve in utter ignorance of the rising. He and Dr. Macartney, the Protestant incumbent, being mounted, remained in the street with a party of dragoons during the action. When the

dragoons retreated, O'Neil's horse, being wounded, refused to accompany them, and, the rebels coming up, one of them seized the bridle, whereupon O'Neil with his pistol shot him dead. Lord O'Neil was then attacked with pikes, and, being badly wounded, fell from his horse. Dr. Macartney tried in vain to get his lordship away, but he failed, and O'Neil died of his wounds two or three days later. Macartney now galloped through the rebels, and, joining Staples, the Member for the County, they got into a boat and rowed across Lough Neagh into Tyrone, and, landing, hurried to Dungannon to inform General Knox of the trend of events. Knox, hitherto in ignorance of the rising, immediately assembled all the available yeomen of the county, and, marching to Toome with 1500 men, was in time to prevent a rising of the peasantry of County Londonderry.

The insurgents, seeing the retreat of Lumley's dragoons, concluded that victory was theirs, and rushing forward with a cry of triumph they seized upon the abandoned guns, but they were at once driven back by a deadly fire from the yeomanry on the garden wall. A lieutenant in the Antrim Yeomanry, and another in the Royal Irish Artillery, both mere lads, sons of Dr. Macartney, headed a small party of the Antrim troop, and, sallying into the street in the teeth of the rebel fire, succeeded in drawing the guns and ammunition-cart inside the garden wall, where the guns were at once placed upon the terrace and brought to bear with great effect upon the entire street.

A fresh body of rebels now arrived, and being greeted by a heavy fire from the guns were thrown into confusion, and a panic seems to have seized the entire body of insurgents, from which M'Cracken endeavoured in vain to rally them. He might have succeeded but for the arrival of Colonel Durham with reinforcements from Blaris and Belfast. Thinking that the rebels were in possession of Antrim, Durham brought up his cannon, but for its use there proved to be

no need, for in the face of such odds M'Cracken's forces fled across the fields, pursued by parties of the freshly arrived royalists. The rebels are deemed to have lost about 200 killed in the engagement and flight. With a small band of followers, who gradually dispersed, M'Cracken retired to the heights of Slemish. He escaped arrest until the beginning of July, when he fell into the hands of the royalists. He was tried and executed at Belfast on the 17th of the same month.

On the same day as the battle of Antrim a body of rebels attacked the town of Larne, where they were repulsed by a small detachment of the Tay fencibles. Some other feeble attempts were made, the insurgents obtaining possession of Randalstown, where fifty of the yeomanry were taken prisoners. The rebels were, however, driven out the same night and marched to Toome, where they remained two days, having broken down the bridge to prevent General Knox from crossing the Bann to attack them. The main body of the Antrim rebels retired to Donagorehill, where, discouraged at their lack of success, and urged by the exhortations of a magistrate named M'Cleverty, whom they had taken prisoner, they surrendered their arms and dispersed.

In Down the rising was more considerable, and the people had several successful conflicts with the military. A body of them, commanded by a Dr. Jackson, of Newtownards, at Saintfield set fire to the house of a farmer named M'Kee, who was accused of being an informer. They then elected as their leader Henry Munro, of Lisburn, who was of Scottish descent, and, like M'Cracken, had been engaged in the linen trade. He possessed some knowledge of military matters, having been trained as a Volunteer to the use of arms. Hearing that Colonel Stapleton was marching against them from Newtownards with a body of cavalry (the York fencible regiment) and two pieces of cannon, the rebels hid behind a thicket hedge in his line of march on either side of the

road where it was steep. When about half of Stapleton's force was between the hedges the rebels opened fire, killing a Mr. Mortimer, vicar of Portaferry, his nephew, and some seven or eight yeomen. Several officers were killed or wounded in attempting to dislodge the hidden enemy, by whom many of the cavalry were shot or piked, and the infantry were only rallied by the personal exertions of their commander. They then charged the rebels with coolness and intrepidity, and succeeded in dislodging and dispersing them. The royalists suffered so much in this engagement that they retreated to Comber.

On the 10th of June Colonel Stapleton marched from Comber to attack the insurgents of Newtownards, but changed his route and retreated to Belfast. The people of the southern barony of Ards had risen and attacked Portaferry, where they were vigorously opposed by a small body of yeomanry under Captain Matthews, and after a number of pikemen had been killed they were compelled to retreat. After this engagement, which was fought with obstinacy, Matthews, apprehending a second attack, and knowing he could not resist it, abandoned the town and went to Strangford. On the 10th Newtownards was attacked. The rebels were at first repulsed, but in the course of the day they returned in much larger numbers and found the town deserted by the soldiers. They then went to Saintfield, which had become the centre of operations in Down, and which now contained insurgents to the number, it is estimated, of about 8000 men.

The rebels now proceeded to Ballinahinch, where they established their camp in Lord Moira's demesne, on a commanding eminence skirted by a thick wood. Munro made his preparations with considerable skill. He sent a detachment of his forces, under a leader named Townsend, to take Ballinahinch, which he succeeded in doing, as the royalists fled at his approach. Munro then stationed a strong force

at Creevy Rocks to oppose troops from Belfast and preserve his communication with Saintfield.

On the 12th of June the royalist troops, under Generals Nugent and Barber, marched against Munro from Belfast. A good deal of skirmishing took place that evening, and the army, having set fire to the town, passed the night in revelry. Whilst in this state of disorder Munro was urged to attack them, but he considered the attempt would be disgraceful, and refused to take such an advantage of the foe. The action commenced on the 13th. The rebels had eight small cannon, mounted on market-carts, and only a scanty supply of ammunition. The troops, on the contrary, had heavy artillery, and mowed down the insurgents with a well-directed fire of musketry and grape. Charles Teeling, in his personal account, states that Munro had penetrated to the centre of the town, and that General Nugent had ordered a retreat. The sound of the bugle, he states, was mistaken by the rebels as an announcement of the arrival of reinforcements for the royalists, and, discouraged thereby, they were seized with panic and fled.

Munro, although hotly pursued, endeavoured to rally his followers on the heights of Ednavady, but the royalist troops almost surrounded the hill, leaving but one passage for retreat, and by this the defeated Munro led off his men, now not exceeding 150 in all. A little later the rebels of Down surrendered their arms. Munro fled to the mountains, but was betrayed. He was taken, tried by court martial, condemned, and hanged in Lisburn, opposite his own door. His head was cut off and placed on the market-house.

Such was the manner in which was suppressed the small rising by which Ulster expressed her sympathy with the rebellion of 1798.

CHAPTER XIX

Insurrectionary and Legitimate Fights for Independence

Wolfe Tone urges French Directory to invade Ireland—Humbert's Expedition—He lands at Killala, and is defeated by Lake at Ballinamuck—Hardi's Expedition arrives at the Entrance to Lough Swilly with Wolfe Tone on board the *Hoche*—Is attacked by the English Squadron under Admiral Warren—The *Hoche* is shattered and brought into Lough Swilly—The Prisoners, including Tone, marched to Letterkenny—Wolfe Tone identified, and sent in Irons to Dublin—He is sentenced to Death, and anticipates his Fate in Prison—Pitt's Projects for the Legislative Union—Progress of the Measure—Grattan and Daniel O'Connell oppose it—Castlereagh and Cornwallis support it—Debates on the Subject—The Methods by which the Measure was carried.

While the rebellion was at its height in Wexford, and the south of Ireland presented a pitiful picture of widespread woe and desolation, Wolfe Tone was busy in Paris urging upon the French Directorate the wisdom of striking while the iron was hot, and pointing out to them that they should lose no time in carrying out their projected invasion of Ireland. For this preparations were made without delay. Hoche being dead, his second in command in an abortive expedition to Bantry Bay, General Humbert, was appointed commander of a new expeditionary force of about 1000 men assembled at Rochelle, with 3000 under General Hardi, and 9000 under Kilmaine. The Directory, hampered in many ways, and with but little money at their command, delayed longer in making any decisive move than Humbert could tolerate. He took the bold step of acting on his own responsibility, and set

sail for Ireland with a small squadron consisting of three frigates and a smaller vessel, having on board troops to the number of about 1000 men, rank and file, with a large proportion of officers. Several Irishmen, including Matthew, a brother of Wolfe Tone, and Bartholomew Teeling, accompanied him.

On the 22nd of August, 1798, Humbert entered the Bay of Killala, in Mayo, sailing under the English colours. Landing without opposition, he left Killala with a quantity of ammunition in the charge of 200 men and six officers, and on the 25th took possession of Ballina, from which the garrison fled at his approach. On the 26th he proceeded to Castlebar with 800 of his own men and about 1500 Irishmen who had joined him. He succeeded, after putting the royalist troops to flight, in taking possession of Castlebar without resistance, save from a few Highlanders stationed in the town, who were soon put to death.

Humbert's object evidently was to join forces with those of General Hardi, whose arrival in the north he daily expected. His campaign in Ireland was brilliant but short. Abandoning his design to take Sligo, he pushed on to Manorhamilton, arriving at Ballinamuck, County Longford, on the 8th of September. Here he was obliged to surrender to General Lake, who commanded a large army.

Before the news of Humbert's defeat had reached France, Hardi's small expedition, consisting of the *Hoche*—of seventy-four guns—eight frigates, and a schooner, under the command of Commodore Bompart, and 3000 men, had sailed. Some Irishmen, headed by Napper Tandy, embarked before Bompart in a small and fast-sailing vessel, and on the 16th of September reached the Isle of Raghlin, off the coast of Donegal. Here they heard of Humbert's disaster, and, contenting themselves by spreading some bombastic proclamations, they sailed for Norway.

Hardi's expedition set sail on the 20th of September,

to have originated with Wells, who suggested its divisions into 'Pastoral,' 'Elegant Pastoral,' 'Marine,' &c.

Another man, not of the first rank as an artist, but yet of considerable ability and ingenuity, was Francis Nicholson (1753–1844), who in the course of his unusually long life must have exercised considerable influence as a teacher. 'His subjects were chiefly rushing streams, waterfalls, and shipwrecks,' says the Catalogue of the South Kensington Museum, where a good many of his drawings are preserved. He was an ingenious person, much given to experiments in *technique*. He made over 800 drawings on the stone, and is said to have had much influence on the advancement of the art of lithography. He also invented a method of securing the high lights of his water-colours by a composition of wax and turpentine insoluble in water, but easily removed by the application of turpentine. An account of this method will be found in the 'Transactions of the Society of Arts' in

1799. It is also explained in Nicholson's 'Practice of Drawing and Painting Landscape from Nature in Water-Colours,' a work which is interesting for the information it gives as to the processes of colouring recommended by an artist of some standing in the year 1820. He gives three processes, in all of which the whole subject is first laid in in grey, and a fourth in which you are to begin with the local colours; from which it may be gathered that the reforms of Girtin and Turner were a long time in making their way to anything like universal adoption. It is plain that Nicholson himself but half likes this fourth method; for though he allows that it will give great clearness and brilliancy, he adds that 'without considerable practice the work will frequently be deficient in harmony, breadth, and, above all, in repose.'

The name of John Glover (1767–1849) was suddenly brought before the public at the famous Hamilton sale, in 1882, by the unexpected price given by Mr. Arnot, an American gentleman,

since a judge; Sir John Parnell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Bushe, since Chief Justice; and Lord Oriel, the then Speaker of the House of Commons." Such also was the opinion of Grattan, Curran, Ponsonby, Burrowes, and other eminent men.

In order to ascertain the attitude of the country generally on this subject, the Viceroy, Lord Cornwallis, made a tour through the south, and in writing to the Duke of Portland he said: "In the north the public opinion is much divided on the question. In Derry and Donegal, the gentry are in general well disposed. The linen-merchants are too busily employed in their trade to think much on the subject, or to take an active part on either side; but I understand they are, on the whole, rather favourable, wishing to have their trade secured, which they do not feel, notwithstanding the Speaker's argument, to be independent of Great Britain." Later he wrote: "The measure has not, as yet, made the same progress [as in the south] in the province of Ulster. Although we have very formidable opponents to contend against in that quarter of the kingdom, I by no means despair of the public sentiments being ultimately favourable, and feeling strongly the importance of the object, my exertions shall be particularly directed to dispose the public mind to the Union. In the northern counties, we have already established the question strongly in Derry and Antrim." In this Cornwallis was eventually very successful.

Daniel O'Connell now first appeared upon the scene, and threw all the weight of his opinion into the many arguments against the "injurious, insulting, and hated measure". When the Irish Parliament met on the 15th of January, 1800, the speech from the Throne contained no reference to the subject. Lord Loftus made a slight allusion which gave an opening to Sir Laurence Parsons to open a violent attack on the Government. He was supported by Plunkett. Fitzgerald, Ponsonby, Moore, and Bushe followed, stating

the case against the Union, and Egan, at seven o'clock in the morning, was referring to the constitution of 1782, when Henry Grattan entered. Worn with severe ill-health, he had been induced to appear once more. He came dressed in the old Volunteer uniform, armed with his pistols, to prove that if his frame was feeble his heart was undaunted and his spirit as daring as ever. Intense excitement thrilled the House, and all the members at once rose to their feet. Grattan, while seated, delivered an admirable speech, which he concluded by declaring that Irishmen were called upon to destroy the body that restored Ireland liberties, "and restore that body which destroyed them. Against such a proposition," he said, "were I expiring on the floor, I should beg to utter my last breath, and to record my dying testimony."

It was ten o'clock in the morning when the debate was brought to a close, and then, on a division, 138 voted for, 96 against the measure, giving the Government a majority of 42, in reality only 38, for two members (for Clogher) were unseated and replaced by patriots. Immediately on the adjournment (to 5th February) of the House an aggregate meeting of the citizens was held, the High Sheriff presiding, to protest against the Union, and to thank Grattan, Foster, Beresford, and Ogle for their services. The Guild of Merchants met with the same object, and warmly thanked their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens for their manly and patriotic conduct. The yeomanry, Orangemen, and Catholics were called upon to form a solid force to resist the Union.

When the House met on the 5th of February, Lord Castlereagh outlined the advantages derivable from the measure. He was strenuously met, and on a division had but 158 to 115—a majority of only 43. Petitions came in great numbers from the counties and corporations against the measure; Pitt desired counter-petitions, but succeeded in getting only a few, the Government not daring to risk public

meetings. Nevertheless, the measure was pressed on. In the debates which followed, Foster pointed to the fact that the Irish House included country-gentlemen, merchants, lawyers, and men of all professions; removal to London would exclude the commercial and professional elements. Every article was fought against. Proposals were made to address the King, to inform him of the actual feeling of the nation, and again to ask him to dissolve Parliament and take the opinion of the country on so important and complete a change. The Government rejected every motion by its hired majority.

On the 26th of May Grattan opposed the committal of the Union Bill in a memorable speech, and concluded with an eloquent peroration. His concluding words were: "I do not give up my country, I see her in a swoon, but she is not dead; though in her tomb she lies helpless and motionless, still, there is on her lips a spirit of life, and on her cheeks a glow of beauty.

> 'Thou art not conquered; Beauty's ensign yet
> Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,
> And Death's pale flag is not advanced there'".

Lord Castlereagh reprobated this as prophetic treason and rebellion, but his majority of 45 fell to 37 on a second division. Lord Corry, member for Tyrone, made the final effort of the party, moving a long address to the King against the completion.

On the 7th of June the Bill was read in the Commons a third time and passed after a division, many members, "finding all useless", as Grattan said, "retired with safe consciences, but with breaking hearts". At the gate without, Curran, hearing the result, turned to a member of the United Irishmen and asked in indignation: "Where are now your thirty thousand men?"

The story of how the Union was carried has often been

told. Walter Savage Landor, who must be considered an impartial judge, declared that the means by which it was carried "would have disfranchized a pocket-borough in England". The means employed cannot and need not be defended. The most nefarious corruption was openly practised. Votes were publicly bought and sold. Money, titles, offices, were given as bribes in the light of day. A tariff of corruption was announced. For each rotten borough the price fixed was from £14,000 to £16,000; each member who had purchased his seat was to be repaid the amount of the purchase-money out of the Treasury; all who might otherwise be losers by the Union were to be compensated for their losses, and for that purpose a vote of £1,500,000 was demanded; but these sums were quite distinct from those paid for the private purchase of votes, which were very large. The entire amount paid for the rotten boroughs, at an average of £15,000 each, was £1,260,000.

Attempts were made in some instances by the English Government to repudiate promises made by their agents in Ireland. In the correspondence between Lords Castlereagh and Cornwallis are to be found some very frank statements on the subject, made by the former. In a letter to Under-Secretary Cooke, who was at the time in England, Castlereagh wrote on the 21st of June, 1800: "It will be no secret what has been promised, and by what means the Union has been carried. Disappointment will encourage, not prevent, disclosures; and the only proceeding on their (the ministers') part will be, to add the weight of their testimony to that of the anti-unionists, in proclaiming the profligacy of the means by which the measure has been accomplished." And writing to Lord Camden on the 25th of the same month, he said: "The Irish Government is certainly now liable to the charge of having gone too far in complying with the demands of individuals; but had the Union miscarried, and the failure been traceable to a reluctance on the part of the Government

to interest a sufficient number of supporters in its success, I am inclined to think we should have met with, and in fact have deserved, less mercy".

The progress of the measure through its various stages culminated on the 1st of August, on which day, the anniversary of the accession of the House of Brunswick, the royal assent was given to the Act of Union.

CHAPTER XX

After the Union

Act of Union comes into Operation in January, 1801—Presbyterians seek Relief from their Disabilities—Lord Castlereagh's Plans for their Relief—Thomas Russell of Downpatrick engaged in Emmett's Rebellion—He is taken, tried, and executed—First Roman Catholic Petition for Emancipation—It fails—Castlereagh seeks re-election for Down—He is defeated—Hamilton Rowan released—"Ulster as loyal as any Part of England"—Outrage at Newry—Orangeman executed at Enniskillen—First Agitation for Repeal of the Union—Daniel O'Connell's Sentiments—He denounces Religious Dissensions—Death of George III.

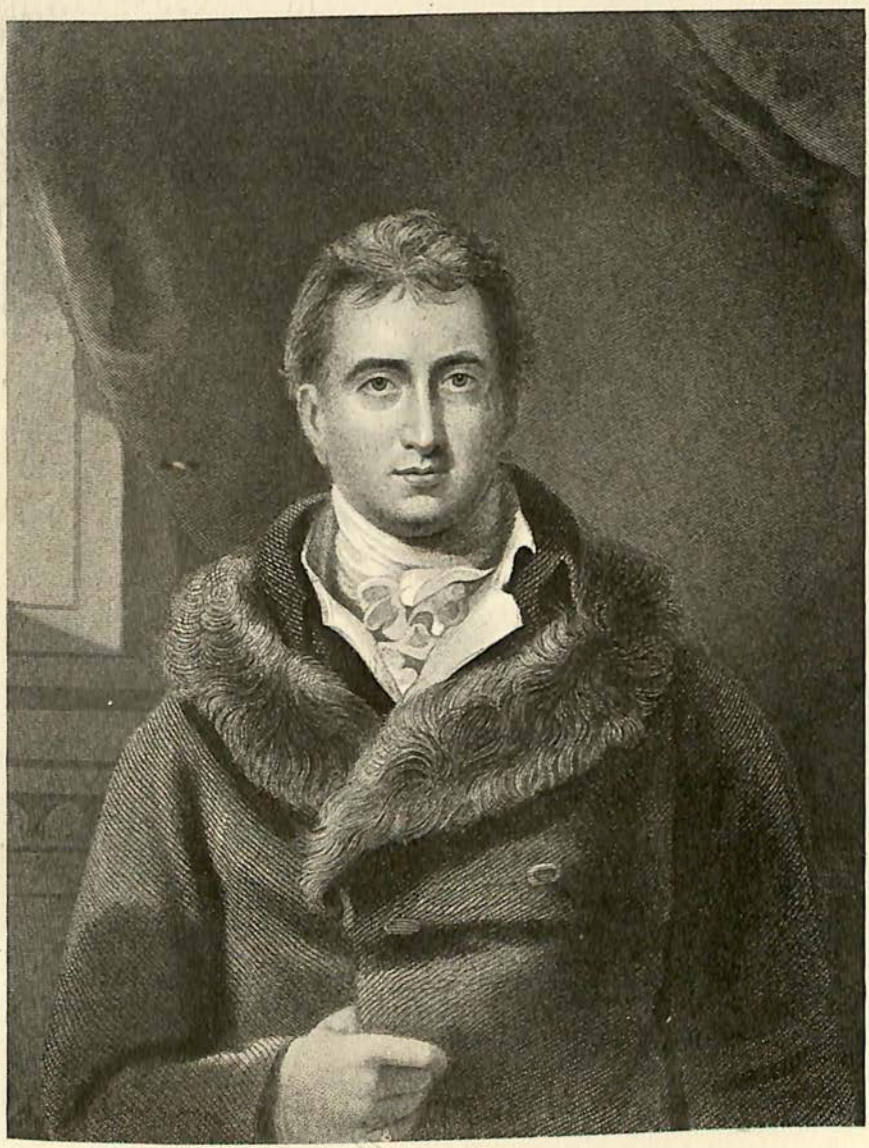
On the 1st of January, 1801, the Act of Union came into operation, from that date Ireland ceased to be a distinct kingdom, and became an integral portion of the British Empire. For a long period after the Union the history of the country presents very few events of any importance. Ulster remained in tolerable tranquillity, and did not suffer to the same extent as did her sister provinces, which were thrown into great distress by the failure of the crops in the years immediately following the Union; especially of potatoes, which formed the staple diet of the people in the south and west.

In 1802, Catholic emancipation being in the air, the great Presbyterian body in Ulster also sought relief from disabilities under which they laboured. On this subject Lord Castlereagh, who had been appointed President of the Board of Control, and was now busily engaged seeking re-election as member for Down, wrote, on the 21st July, to Addington, who was Prime Minister: "Nothing but time, and the operation of a steady and impartial administration of the

government, such as it is your determination, and not less that of my Lord Hardwicke [the Viceroy], to employ, can mitigate the religious animosities that unhappily prevail in this country, which, I am sorry to say, exist at present in a very strong degree, and have recently manifested themselves, both in the counties of Derry and Down, in an unpleasant manner. In the former a riot took place between the Orangemen and the Catholics, in which several of the latter, though supposed to have been the aggressors, lost their lives. A riot between the same parties took place near this town on the 27th of last month, at a well where the Catholics assemble at midsummer to perform their penances, which terminated in two Catholics being killed and several wounded. In this instance, I fear the Protestants very much misconducted themselves.

"On this occasion Lord Londonderry assembled the magistrates; and the determination which has been shown to put the law rigidly in force against all parties, without favour to any, will prevent further mischief, and give the proper impression to the minds of both; but still, to soften religious contention in this country, and to bring it gradually to a temper which shall, in future wars, deprive our foreign enemies of a certain ally in the resentful feelings of one of two contending parties, some effort must be made by the State to mitigate the struggle, which I see no means it has of accomplishing, if seven-eighths of our population are to remain wholly out of the reach of any species of influence or authority, other than that of the mere operation of the law."

Castlereagh then proceeded to develop a scheme for rewarding loyalty in the Presbyterian body, and discouraging "the democratic party in the synod, most of whom, if not engaged in the Rebellion, were deeply infected with its principles". "In our Church," he writes, "which is naturally attached to the State, I should dread schism as



VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH

From an engraving of the portrait by Sir T. Lawrence

naturally weakening its interests. But in such a body as the Presbyterians of Ireland, who, though consequently a branch of the Church of Scotland, have partaken so deeply first of the popular and since of the democratic politics of this country as to be an object much more of jealousy than of support to Government, I am of opinion that it is only through a considerable internal fermentation of the body, coupled with some change of system, that it will put on a different temper and acquire better habits."

Castlereagh's plan was to increase largely the grant known as *Regium Donum*, instituted in the seventeenth century, and to entirely change the mode of its distribution. It had previously been given to a commission of the Presbyterian body, who apportioned an equal sum, amounting usually to £16, to each minister. It was now proposed that for the future there should be three scales of payment, rising from £50 to £100. But this sum was to be given to each recipient, not by the synod, but by the State. "On the appointment of a minister, certificate of his character must be laid by the Presbytery before the Lord-Lieutenant. After the congregation has chosen a minister, he should not be entitled as of right to derive a provision from the State without a guarantee that he is a loyal subject."

An active correspondence was kept up with the leading Presbyterians on this method of dealing with the question, Castlereagh's plan meeting with universal approbation. Alexander Knox, writing to Castlereagh on the 15th of July, 1803, when the new votes had passed Parliament, said: "On the whole, if nothing is now done or omitted to lessen its efficacy, I believe a happier policy has never been resorted to than this plan of your lordship's. Never before was Ulster under the dominion of the British Crown. It had a distinct moral existence before, and moved and acted on principles, of which all we could certainly know was that they were not with the State; therefore, when any tempting

occasion occurred, ready to act against it. Now the distinct existence will merge into the general well-being, the Presbyterian ministers being henceforth a subordinate ecclesiastical aristocracy, whose feeling must be that of zealous loyalty, and whose influence upon their people will be as surely sedative, when it should be so, and exciting when it should be so, as it was the direct reverse before."

On the 23rd of the month Robert Emmett's insurrection broke like a bolt from the blue. In his manifesto he did not venture to address the men of Ulster, although he addressed those of the other three provinces. Thomas Russell, who had undertaken the agitation of Down and Antrim, on his mission to Ulster met with nothing but disappointment. He collected some people together, and addressed them, but ineffectually, for the revolutionary spirit of the north appeared to be extinguished. He was not only avoided, but he was threatened and denounced, and the Catholic priests publicly exhorted those under their charge not to listen to him. Suspecting that he was in peril, he hid himself, and from his place of concealment published an inflammatory proclamation, in which he designated himself "General of the Northern District". When brought to his trial at Down, he followed the example of Emmett, who had been executed on the 20th of September, and delivered a long speech in justification of his conduct, a speech which is remarkable for its many expressions of religious emotion. Russell, who was a close friend and associate of Wolfe Tone, as well as of Robert Emmett, was executed at Downpatrick, where a memorial to him was erected in the graveyard, bearing on it no inscription save the letters of his name.

Spies and informers reaped a rich harvest from the general fear. A man named Houlton, early in August, succeeded in getting an interview with the Under-Secretary, and was brought by request before the Privy Council. Houlton told them that he had private information of the fact that several

of Russell's adherents in Ulster intended to surprise the Pigeon-house fort, approaching it under the guise of fishermen. He offered his services to the Government and they were accepted, when it was determined to send him to the north, where he was to pass as one of the rebel generals. Houlton was, accordingly, furnished with a suitable uniform, and a superb cocked hat and feathers, and, having been furnished with £100 to cover his expenses, was sent to Belfast, instructions being at the same time sent to Sir Charles Ross, who commanded there, advising him that Houlton was a confidential agent of Dublin Castle, and directing him to give the agent all the assistance in his power.

By some error Houlton reached Belfast before the Government dispatches, and, with a want of discretion which proved how utterly unfitted he was to act, he began to talk treason openly, with the result that he was informed against, arrested, paraded in his uniform round the town, and committed to prison. The dispatch having by this time reached the hands of Ross, he had to meet the new condition of things; but in order to save the face of the Government in Dublin he sent Houlton under military escort back to the capital, when he duly was imprisoned. A little later Houlton was rewarded by being given an obscure appointment on the west coast of Africa.

In the spring of 1805 the Irish Catholics begged Pitt to present their first petition to Parliament for emancipation. Pitt refused; whereupon they approached Grenville and Fox, who consented. The Petitions were presented to both Houses on the 25th of March. The discussion was postponed until the 13th of May, when Fox rose and moved that the reference to the petition be considered by a committee of the whole House. Dr. Duigenan, member for Armagh, followed with a vehement anti-Catholic invective. When he had finished, Grattan rose in a full House, tense with excitement,

and said: "I rise to avoid the example of the member who has just sat down. Instead of calumniating either party, I defend both. The past troubles of Ireland, the rebellion of 1641, the wars which followed, I do not wholly forget, but I remember them only to deprecate the example and to renounce the animosity. You have been told by the last speaker that an Irish Catholic never is, never was, never can be, a faithful subject to a British Protestant King, for they hate all Protestants and all Englishmen. Thus has he pronounced against his country three curses: eternal war with one another, eternal war with England, and eternal peace with France. His speech consists of four parts: invective against the religion of the Catholics, invective against the present generation, invective against the past, invective against the future. Here the limits of creation interposed and stopped him. It is to defend those different generations and their religion that I rise: to rescue the Catholic from his attack, and the Protestant from his defence."

After a two days' debate Fox's motion was defeated by a majority of nearly three to one—336 votes against 124. Thus was the question of Catholic Emancipation set aside, until on the list of a committee appointed on the 9th of February, 1807, to draw up a new petition, appeared the name of Daniel O'Connell.

In 1805 Castlereagh, having been appointed Secretary of State, had to seek re-election as member for Down. After a poll of thirteen days he was defeated by Colonel Meade, a son of the Earl of Clanwilliam.

On the 1st of July Hamilton Rowan, who had been convicted of treasonable practices, pleaded the King's pardon at the bar of the court of King's Bench, and was liberated. One reason for this clemency lay in the fact that Fox in the House had declared that "the Province of Ulster, which is by far the most populous and important district of the country, and once the most suspected of disloyalty, [is now]

as sound, and well-disposed, and as loyal as any part of England"; a pronouncement which won the hearty support of Mr. May, member for Belfast.

The agitation in Ulster against the Catholic claims, which was promoted by the Government, and the resentment of the anti-Catholic party at the indulgence which had been promised to their opponents, resulted in an increase of discord between the two parties in the province. The Orange yeomanry occasionally indulged in a lawlessness which was very reprehensible and utterly uncalled for. One instance will suffice. On the 23rd of June, 1808, a large number of men, women, and children were collected in the evening round a bonfire at Corinshiga, near Newry. They were engaged in rustic games and dances, when a party consisting of eighteen yeomen, fully armed, appeared upon the scene. The sergeant cried "halt", following up the command with an order to present and fire, with the result that one young man was killed and several of those present were severely wounded. Some of the local magistrates at once proclaimed a reward for apprehension of the offenders, and also made application to the Lord-Lieutenant, the Duke of Richmond, suggesting direct interference on the part of the Government, but without success. One of those concerned in the outrage was seized, but he escaped with the connivance of the yeoman to whose custody he had been entrusted by Lord Gosford. In 1809 an Orangeman was executed at Enniskillen for the murder of a Catholic, and it was found necessary to guard him to execution with a strong military force, lest the Orange yeomanry, who had manifested an intention to rescue him, should succeed.

Early in 1810 Grattan presented another Petition for Catholic Emancipation, and in May he moved that this and other petitions should be referred to a Committee. After a debate which lasted three days, his motion was rejected by 213 votes against 109. In May, 1911, the petition was again

presented, and Grattan moved its reference to a committee of the whole House. The motion was lost by 146 votes against 83.

In the summer of this year, 1810, was commenced the first agitation for the repeal of the Union. It originated from the Corporation of Dublin. A meeting was held in the Royal Exchange on the 18th of September, when Daniel O'Connell said, in the course of an animated speech: "Let the Union be only repealed, and then the country will be truly anti-Gallic. You will then concentrate the resources of Ireland, and then alone you will have Church and State in safety. You have set an example this day. If you are loyal men, you will wish for an Irish Parliament. Recollect the spirit which in 1788, spread from Dungannon over Ireland, recollect the names of those who were instrumental on that occasion, recollect the names of those who have since died, and of those who yet survive, but let me conjure you to begin this glorious career by rejecting all religious distinction, crush to the earth the hydra of hell, clothed in the stolen garb of religion—religious dissension. Set your hopes in Ireland, as you have set your country the glorious example, be the first to step forward in her cause. Be yourselves! Be Irishmen! . . . The Protestant cannot liberate his country; the Roman Catholic cannot do it; neither can the Presbyterian. But amalgamate the three into the Irishman, and the Union is repealed."

Grattan made his final effort to effect the emancipation of Catholics in the first session of the new Parliament in 1813. His Bill was simple and in many respects satisfactory. It gave all the rights that passed into law sixteen years later: admission to Parliament, to corporations, and to civil and military offices. The Bill, in the end, was dropped. Grattan continued to the day of his death to serve the Catholic cause "with a desperate fidelity, which sustained him even when there was no hope of success".

In November, 1815, so rife was the spirit of turbulence in the baronies of Dundalk, Ardee, and Louth, that twenty-seven magistrates assembled in Petty Session in Louth memorialized the Lord-Lieutenant, proving the necessity for further police assistance in their county. These districts, accordingly, were proclaimed.

The years that followed Waterloo brought gloom and oppression to Western Europe, in which Britain as well as Ireland shared. One feature of the coercive legislation of 1817 is significant. The Seditious Meeting Act was expressly made inapplicable to Ireland. On Sir J. Newport moving that the Act be extended to Ireland, Lord Castlereagh observed that Ireland was in so tranquil a state as not to need unusual restraint.

In January, 1820, that—

> Old, mad, blind, despised and dying king,

George III, expired. Few monarchs have had less said in his favour, for, as Walter Savage Landor remarked:

> What mortal ever heard
> Any good of George the Third?

CHAPTER XXI

Catholic Emancipation

Death of Grattan—Plunkett's Resolutions regarding the Catholic Question —Plunkett's Second Bill denounced by O'Connell—King George IV visits Ireland—He is enthusiastically received—Trouble in the North after the King's Departure—Orangemen *v.* Ribbonmen—The Foundation of the Catholic Association—It is suppressed and reconstituted—O'Connell returned for Clare—Refuses to take the Oaths of Supremacy and Abjuration—The Catholic Association's Campaign in Ulster—The Catholic Emancipation Bill passed—O'Connell re-elected without Opposition—Death of George IV.

In 1820 Ireland suffered a great loss by the death, at the age of seventy, of Henry Grattan. He had served for twenty years in the Irish and for fifteen in the united Parliament. His last speech in Parliament, on window tax, was a protest against the taxation of light and air—a fitting close to the career of "that old man eloquent". His opinion on the Union never changed. But the marriage, he said, had taken place, and it was the duty of everyone to render it as fruitful and advantageous as possible.

In February, 1821, Plunkett brought forward a series of six resolutions for dealing with the Catholic question. "They set forth", says Dr. J. H. Bridges, "that whereas certain oaths and declarations were necessary as a condition for the enjoyment of certain rights, these might now be safely repealed or altered. The oaths of disbelief in transubstantiation and saint worship should be repealed; that of the King's supremacy should be so modified as not to imply that the King exercised spiritual as well as temporal supremacy in religious matters. The Protestant succession was specially

guarded; the offices of Lord-Chancellor and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland were reserved for Protestants."

Although these resolutions were opposed by Peel, they were carried by a majority of six. On the 16th of March a second Bill was brought in, enacting that no person should be a Bishop or Dean in the Roman Catholic Church whose loyalty and peaceable conduct should not have been previously established. Every priest was to swear that he would not recognize any Bishop of whose loyalty he was not personally satisfied; that he would not correspond with the Pope or any of his agents as to the disestablishment of the Church in England, or Scotland, or Ireland; that he would not hold correspondence with Rome on any matter touching his civil allegiance.

Energetic remonstrances against this Bill poured in from all Ireland; O'Connell denounced it; the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin expressed the unanimous dissent of his clergy; but it passed the second reading by a small majority. The resolutions previously passed were then made part of the Bill, and it passed the third reading. In the Upper House it was opposed by Lords Eldon, Liverpool, and the Duke of York, and thrown out on the second reading by a majority of thirty-nine, being, as Shaw Lefevre notes, "the first of a very long list of cases in which remedial measures for Ireland, passed by the House of Commons, have been rejected by the House of Lords". Had the Bill passed into law, the acrimony created by its discussion would have been greatly aggravated.

In order to pour oil on the troubled waters it was proposed that Ireland should be favoured with a royal visit, and, Parliament being prorogued on the 11th of July, 1821, His Majesty, King George IV, prepared to visit Ireland, being the first King to do so since William III. He arrived in Dublin on the 17th of August, and stayed in Ireland for a month. The plan of conciliation seemed to prosper mar-

vellously. All Ireland desired to see the King, who was, says the chronicler, "all affability, condescending to shake hands with the lowest of the populace. During the whole period of his stay in Ireland he met with nothing but the most ardent demonstrations of loyalty. 'My heart', the King assured his Irish subjects, 'has always been Irish. From the first day it beat, I have always loved Ireland.'" The Irish question, some thought, was solved.

No one was more profuse in his demonstrations of loyalty than O'Connell, and no one was more sincere. The Nationalists eagerly hailed the opportunity given them of proving that their detestation of the Union did not involve disloyalty to the Crown. Even Lord Londonderry, who had been, of all the ministry, held up the most as an object of vituperation, was received, during his rides through the streets of Dublin, with the most enthusiastic fervour.

Notwithstanding these demonstrations of loyalty, the people, however, proved to be animated by a spirit with which no statecraft of any kind seemed to be able to cope. "It is melancholy", says the chronicler, "to be obliged to relate that the events of October, November, and December destroyed all the splendid anticipations to which His Majesty's visit to Ireland had given rise in the minds of those who possessed a superficial acquaintance with the character of that people. The gaudy and hollow bubble of conciliation soon burst, and a system of outrage, robbery, murder, and assassination commenced, hardly to be paralleled in the annals of any civilized country." The county of Cavan was one of the chief seats of the disturbance.

The appointment of Lord Wellesley to the Viceroyalty in the winter of 1821–2 brought the country a friend. He was firm alike in his support of Catholic Emancipation and in his condemnation of Orangeism. It had been the practice to decorate the statue in Dublin of William III on the 12th of July and on the 5th of November. In 1822 the annual

celebration of the Battle of the Boyne had caused much disturbance, and notice was given early in October that the decoration of the statue for the 5th of November would not be permitted. The prohibition was bitterly resented by the Orange leaders, and the Merchants' Guild passed a resolution condemning it. Six weeks later Lord Wellesley was insulted and attacked in the Theatre Royal, Dublin.

Hatred of "each other for the love of God", became one of the most significant "religious tendencies of the age". This was most noticeable in Ulster. In the counties of Antrim and Armagh, for example, insults and provocations followed by riots were common features of the life of the people. To ascertain the identity of the first offender was almost impossible, so commonplace had perjury become. At Carrickfergus assizes the flat contradictions given on oath by Catholics and Protestants alike to statements made by their opponents were so flagrant that the judge, Baron M'Cleland, refused to take the testimony of either side, and dismissed cases with earnest exhortations and reproofs, both to Ribbonmen and Orangemen, for the unnatural spirit of animosity they displayed, which, the judge declared, "was calculated to make the banner of Christianity, not an emblem of peace but a standard to excite people to deeds of discord and bloodshed".

On the 12th of July, 1823, some Orangemen, and Ribbonmen met at the fair at Maghera in County Londonderry. A quarrel took place, and the Orangemen, being driven to the barracks, provided themselves with arms and ammunition and fired repeatedly upon their adversaries, with the result that some twenty or thirty were wounded and several were killed. The Orangemen's triumph was later celebrated by a concerted attack upon the dwellings of the Catholics.

In this year (1823) the Catholic Association of Ireland was founded, by O'Connell, Sheil, and others. Its purpose was described to be that of adopting "all such legal and con-

stitutional measures as may be most useful to obtain Catholic Emancipation". It was not limited to Catholics. Everyone who subscribed £1, 2*s.* 9*d.* annually was qualified for membership. Reporters were admitted. The meetings were held at three o'clock on Saturday, ten members forming a quorum. The country was appealed to. Subscriptions were invited in every town, indeed in every village. Collectors were appointed for every parish to receive monthly subscriptions, which varied from one penny to two shillings. The result was a huge success: the feeling of the people was awakened. Everyone, however humble, felt he could take his share to remould the state of things nearer to the heart's desire. A fourth estate arose in Ireland, as powerful, in many instances, as the other three.

The King's speech at the opening of the session of 1825 proved that the Catholic Association was not to be allowed to triumph. "Outrages", it said, "have so far ceased as to warrant the suspension of the extension of extraordinary powers in most of the districts hitherto disturbed. Industry and commercial enterprise are extending in that part of the United Kingdom. It is the more to be regretted that associations should exist in Ireland irreconcilable with the spirit of the constitution, and calculated, by exciting alarm and by exasperating animosity, to endanger the peace of society and to retard the course of national improvement."

On the 10th of February Goulbourn moved for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Acts affecting unlawful societies in Ireland. In order to meet objections, it was stated that it was intended to have reference, not merely to the Catholic Associations, but to all societies of a similar kind; and its objects were to prevent the permanent sittings of any associations or appointment of committees beyond a certain time, and also to put a stop to any levy of money for the purpose of redressing private or public grievances. It was further to make illegal all societies which were affiliated, which

corresponded with other societies, which excluded persons on the ground of any particular religious faith, or in which any oaths were taken other than those which were directed by the law. The Bill was supported by Plunkett and Canning, and was pressed rapidly through all its stages by large majorities. Early in March it was read a third time in the House of Lords, and on the 9th received the royal assent, with the result that the Catholic Association fell without a struggle, no attempt being made to resist the law.

Shortly after the session closed, a committee of twenty-one noblemen and gentlemen was appointed by the Catholic Association to consider what course would be best to adopt under the circumstances. On the 13th of July, 1825, Lord Killeen, as representative of the committee, submitted the report, on which they had agreed, to another large meeting, and its provisions were almost entirely adopted. It recommended that a new Catholic Association should be formed, which should have its head office in Dublin; that there should be ramified associations in every county in Ireland, which should act, with apparent independence of each other, in getting up petitions to Parliament for Catholic Emancipation, that each of these associations should have a permanent committee, which was to meet fourteen days at a time, but that all its members should be, whether in meeting or not, in constant correspondence with the head committee in Dublin; and, finally, in order to do away with the apparent factiousness of a Catholic opposition to Government, it was agreed that any person whatsoever, irrespective of creed, should on the payment of twenty shillings become a member. "Each province of Ireland", says Wyse, "was summoned by requisition. The Catholics invited their Protestant friends; both met on an appointed day in a town chosen in rotation in one or other of the counties of the province. The result was most important. It familiarized the two sects with each other; it inspired mutual confidence and mutual respect.

The people were incalculably benefited. It was not only a spectacle of great and stirring interest, but a series of impressive political lectures on their grievances and their rights, leaving behind them thoughts which burnt for many months afterwards in the hearts of the peasantry, and gave them a visible and sensible connection with the leading class of their countrymen." The Act directed against the Catholic Association expired in July, 1828, when the association was without delay reconstituted in its original form.

A vacancy occurring in the representation of County Clare, through Vesey Fitzgerald's appointment to the Presidency of the Board of Trade, the Association started O'Connell as a candidate for the vacant seat, with the result that Fitzgerald retired after a few days' contest and O'Connell was elected; when, however, he presented himself at the bar of the House of Commons, the oaths of supremacy and of abjuration were presented to him, and he refused to take either. A brief but stormy discussion followed, and O'Connell was sent back to his constituents, with whom he became more popular than ever.

The Catholic Association now redoubled their activity and the country was soon in a ferment of excitement. The organization of the south had been completed, but in Ulster the power of the association was not fully established, and they therefore sent Lawless as an agent to represent them. On his way he wrote to the committee to say that the whole population followed him up the hills, many on foot and large numbers on horseback; and he actually entered the town of Ballybay, in County Monaghan, with from twenty to thirty thousand people in attendance. Such large numbers, being animated with a wild desire for lawlessness under the guise of freedom, became a serious menace to the welfare of lovers of peace, and the magistrates were obliged to call out the military to check the proceedings of Lawless, one large meeting being held at Armagh on the 30th of September, 1828, at which many of those present were armed.

When Parliament met on the 6th of February, 1829, the King's speech regretted the continuance in Ireland of an association dangerous to the public peace, and advised Parliament to consider the removal of civil disabilities of Catholics consistently with the maintenance of establishments in Church or State. On the 10th Peel brought in a Bill for the suppression of the Catholic Association, and on the 5th of March he proposed a resolution that the House should form into Committee to consider the laws imposing disabilities on Catholics. The Bill, embodying Peel's resolution, was read for the first time on the 10th of March. After two days' debate the second reading was carried on the 18th by 353 to 180, and the third on the 30th by 320 to 142. In the Lords the majority for the Bill on the second reading was 217 against 111, and the Bill was read a third time on the 10th of April, and on the 13th received the royal assent. On the 15th of May O'Connell presented himself in the House, claiming to take the oath newly enacted. A debate took place, and on the 18th he was heard at the bar. It was decided by 190 votes against 116 that, having been elected before the change in the law, he must take the former oath. On his refusal to do this a new writ was issued. He returned to Ireland to seek re-election, and at once raised the cry of Repeal. He was again returned for Clare, this time without a contest.

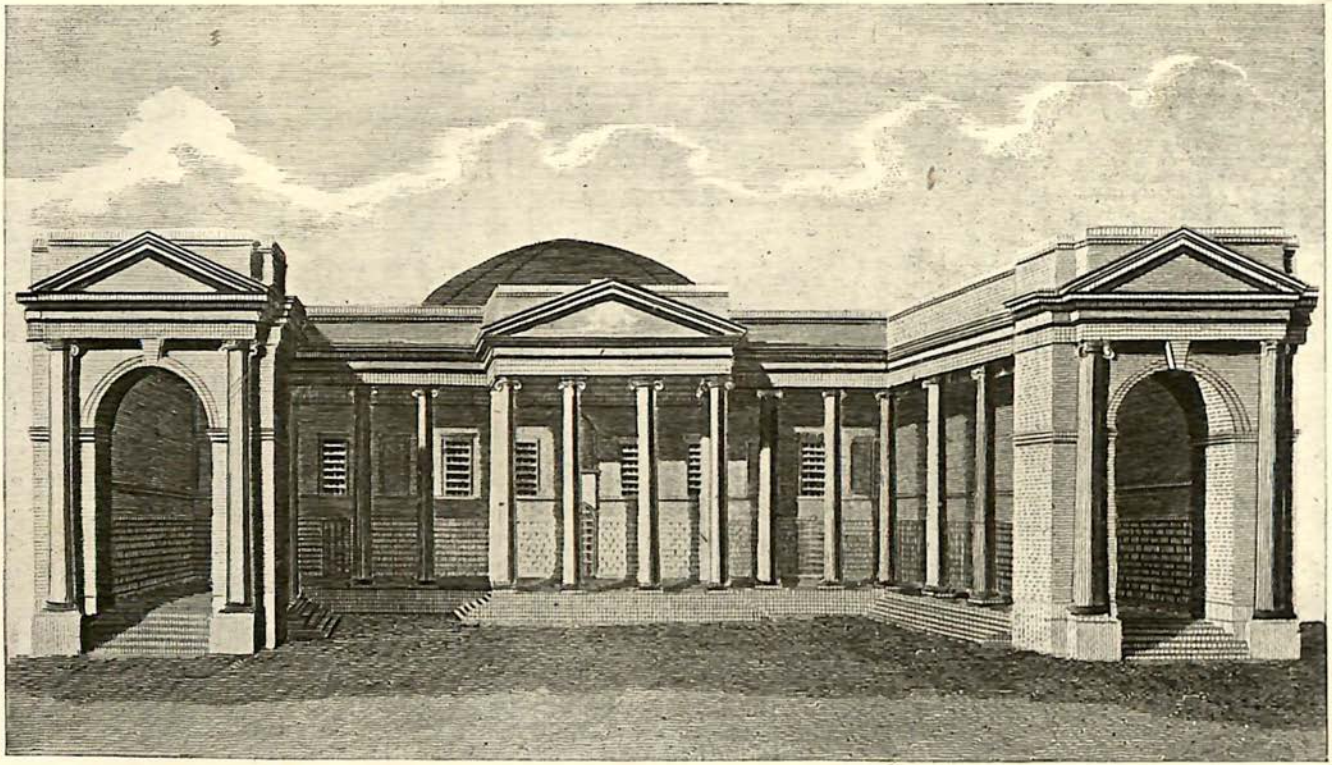
During the early part of 1830 the health of the King had been rapidly declining, and after being for several months secluded from everyone, save his personal attendants, he died on Saturday, the 26th of June, and was succeeded by his brother, William Henry, Duke of Clarence, as William IV.

CHAPTER XXII

Reforms in State and Church

Universal Cry for Parliamentary Reform—Lord John Russell introduces the Reform Bill—The Reform Bill for Ireland introduced by Stanley—The Bill opposed by O'Connell and Sheil—The Bill receives the Royal Assent, 7th of August, 1832—Earl Grey introduces his Coercion Bill—It is passed by a Large Majority—The Tithe Question—The State of the Irish Church—Reduction of Irish Bishoprics—Address to the King presented by the Archbishop of Armagh —Reconstruction of the Cabinet—Lord Mulgrave's Viceroyalty—Louis Perrin, Attorney-General—He creates a Precedent by permitting Catholics to serve as Jurymen—Irish Municipal Reform—Dr. Cooke's Activities in Belfast—English Radicals attack the Orange Association—Lord Mulgrave's Rule in Ireland attacked by Jackson, M.P. for Belfast—Death of William IV.

The reign of William IV was ushered in by a universal cry for parliamentary reform. The popular agitation was greatly increased by Wellington's declaration, in the House of Lords, that no reform was required and that none would be considered. The Duke's uncompromising attitude led to his resignation, and a Whig Ministry was formed, of which the chief members were Earl Grey and Lord John Russell. Brougham was Lord Chancellor, and Lords Melbourne and Palmerston were Secretaries of State. On the 1st of March, 1831, Lord John Russell introduced the Reform Bill in the Commons. The second reading was carried by a majority of one; but as the Government had not a sufficient majority to carry the Bill through all its stages, Parliament was dissolved. The whole country was thrown at once into a state of wild excitement, and serious rioting occurred at all elections. The new Parliament contained a large majority of reformers and the Bill was easily carried in the Commons, but the Lords threw it out on the second reading.



THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE, DUBLIN

From an engraving published in 1792

Lord Anglesey, the Viceroy in Ireland, who had been recalled by Wellington in 1828, was again appointed by Grey; he understood Ireland better than his associates in the Government, and often complained that his views were set aside and his policy counteracted by the Chief Secretary, Stanley, who had a seat in the Cabinet. In 1832 ministers were too much occupied with the struggle for Reform to give proper attention to the question of social order in Ireland, where the question of tithes had become a fruitful source of misery and crime.

On the 22nd of May, Stanley introduced the Reform Bill for Ireland. On the motion for the second reading, on the 26th, he said that out of 7,700,000 of the population the county constituency comprised 7,000,000, for whom there were only 64 representatives. He proposed to rectify this error by disfranchizing several small nomination boroughs and giving the representation to the counties and large towns. It was intended, he said, to make the representation as far as possible accordant with that of England and Scotland; and by raising the franchise (so that all tenant-holders of £50 a year, and all leaseholders of £10 for 99 years, should have a vote) suppress the evil influence by which the elections in Ireland had been frequently marred.

The county constituency would, Stanley calculated, amount to something more than 52,000, of whom 22,000 would be freeholders, possessing more than £50 a year arising from freehold property. The Bill would give five members more to Ireland than she already possessed, one of whom was to represent the University of Dublin, so that it should have two members instead of one. By the Bill the constituency of Dublin would be raised from 5000 to 16,000. Seven of the largest counties would possess a constituency of from 15,000 to 16,000, and Belfast, "one of the most important towns in Ireland", would have a constituency of 2300 instead of 13. It was proposed to raise the ordinary

rate of franchise from £5 to £10, and in order to meet the objections of Protestants Stanley declared that the change would not give to the Roman Catholic interest more than seven additional members.

The Bill was opposed by both O'Connell and Sheil, the former of whom made a great effort to extend the franchise from £10 to £5 rentals, stating that even if they were to adopt that rate they could not obtain more than 25,000 electors in all the counties in Ireland. If they adopted the higher qualification there were six counties in which they would not find above 300 persons to enjoy the franchise, in seven others there were not more than 400, and in five others not more than 500; in three districts of the country, if they took the qualification of £100 of yearly income, he did not think that they would find more than from 500 to 700 voters. There were only eleven counties which would have 700 voters, and eight of these would sit in Protestant Ulster.

Stanley replied that the arrangements of the Government had been based upon the calculations of Sir Henry Parnell, whose accuracy and impartiality no one could doubt, and he contended that the £50 clause would add very considerably to the Catholic constituency of many counties, especially those of Down and Armagh. The Reform Bill of Ireland received the royal assent on the 7th of August, 1832.

In the beginning of 1833 the social condition of Ireland was deplorable. Earl Grey, in introducing his Coercion Bill in the House of Lords, enumerated no fewer than 9000 crimes of violence, almost exclusively agrarian, which had occurred in the preceding twelve months. Juries would not convict, murders were rife, and intimidation was almost universal. The authority of the law had practically ceased to exist throughout the greater part of the country. Lord Althorpe, the leader of the House of Commons, was in favour of less coercion and more concession. Stanley, however, "explained with admirable clearness the insecure and alarming

state of Ireland", with the result that, according to Lord John Russell, "the House became appalled and agitated at the dreadful picture which he placed before their eyes. They felt for the sorrows of the innocent, they were shocked at the dominion of assassins and robbers."

The Bill was so generally felt to be one of great necessity that at the conclusion of the debate there was a universal feeling in its favour, and on the 29th of March it was read a third time, and passed by a majority of 345 against 86. The Bill, having received the royal assent, was published, and on the 10th of April the Lord-Lieutenant issued several stern declarations, stating that he would not permit any political gatherings, and also that in the whole of Ireland there was no need for Volunteers (a body O'Connell had in a tentative manner re-established), and he proceeded to put his words into action, with the result that the newly enrolled association of Irish Volunteers forthwith disbanded and ceased to be. This Coercion Act was most beneficial to the country, the number of offences thoughout Ireland being diminished from 472 in the month of March to 162 in the month of May.

The year 1834 was an eventful one for Ireland. The Coercion Act was in full force. Crime and outrage were diminished, but discontent was as rife as ever. The tithe question was still unsettled, and Parliament was invited in the King's speech to take it once more into consideration. "I recommend to you", said the text, "the early consideration of such a final adjustment of the tithes in that part of the United Kingdom as may extinguish all just causes of complaint, without injury to the rights and property of any class of my subjects, or to any institutions in Church or State. The public tranquillity has been generally preserved, and the state of all the provinces of Ireland presents, upon the whole, a much more favourable appearance than at any period during the last year. But I have seen, with feelings of deep regret and just indignation, the continuance of

attempts to excite the people of that country to demand a repeal of the Legislative Union. This bond of our national strength and safety, I have already declared my fixed and unalterable resolution, under the blessing of divine Providence, to maintain inviolate by all the means in my power." The session was almost exclusively devoted to the discussion of Irish affairs, the proceedings being marked by O'Connell's attack on the Government in connection with the extraordinary conduct of Baron Smith, an aged judge, who at the summer assizes at Armagh sat, for several days with brief intermission, for the trial of prisoners, from eleven o'clock in the forenoon of one day until six o'clock the morning following!

Lord Althorpe introduced a measure for the cutting down of the Irish Church establishment to something like the proportion of the number of its adherents by reducing ten of the Protestant bishoprics. The Sees selected to be dealt with included those of Dromore, Clogher, and Raphoe. It was proposed to add Dromore to the Bishopric of Down and Connor, Clogher to Armagh, and Raphoe to Derry. It was decided in order to secure the interest of their successors that no Irish Bishop should be able to grant leases for a longer term than twenty-one years. Stanley lent his aid to the passing of the Bill by stating that on the election of a new Bishop of Derry the Bishopric, which originally amounted to £12,600 per annum, had with the consent of the incoming Bishop been reduced to £8000 per annum; and it would be further reduced by the operation of the tax to £7200; so that by the passing of the Bill a double advantage would be obtained. The Bill was carried under a strong protest from Conservative Peers, the Irish Protestant Church losing thereby half her hierarchy.

The subject of tithes now received attention. During the previous session a resolution had been carried for advancing £1,000,000 from the Exchequer for the relief of the Protestant

clergy, the greater number of whom were reduced to a state of absolute destitution caused by the difficulty experienced in collecting from the sources of their incomes. The Government now introduced a Bill founded upon a Clause of that resolution, the effect of which was the abolition of those parishes in which public services had not been held for three years, and a body of Commissioners was instituted to enquire and report as to how many parishes had become subject to this provision. The report, when issued, stated that of 144 such parishes 30 held full services, 26 regular but inefficient services, 22 were but partially served, leaving 66 subject to the effect of the Clause, to 10 of which it could not fairly be applied.

The amount of tithes gathered from the country for these several livings amounted to £136,600 per annum. The charge of the Church cess had been arranged by the tax upon the bishoprics, to which many benefices were attached, so that the whole burden of this reduction of the Protestant Church must fall upon the small livings, the population affected being about 46,000, inhabiting about 10,000 dwellings. Such a wholesale proceeding, following upon the steps for the reduction of the bishoprics, filled the upholders of the Protestant ascendancy with dismay, especially as it severely touched the Protestant Province of Ulster. But although the Bill met with very strong opposition, it was passed on the 30th of July by a majority of 135 against 81. The effects of this measure were to some extent modified by an advance, to meet the requirements of the clergy, of £1,000,000 from the Exchequer, the arrears of tithes, to be collected by the Government at a reduction of from 15 to 20 per cent. This terminated the great struggle between the Catholic and Protestant Churches in Ireland.

Irish Church questions attracted universal attention. Ward, member for St. Albans, having brought forward a motion for a general enquiry into the state of the Irish

Church, found he was supported by Grote and Althorpe, who brought before the House a resolution praying the King to enquire into the state of the Church, and of Church property, in Ireland, and to have an enquiry made to ascertain the proportion in numbers and endowments between Roman Catholics, Dissenters, and Protestants of the Established Church. On a majority of 396 against 120 votes a Commission was issued, with the result that the Irish Protestant clergy, taking alarm, assembled and adopted an address to the King which, on being signed by 1400 clergymen, was presented to His Majesty by the Archbishop of Armagh. The King replied very graciously that he was warmly attached to the Church and was fully determined not to permit a single privilege of hers to be touched.

The ministry regarded the attitude taken with regard to the Irish Church question in the light of a vote of want of confidence, and this led to the reconstruction of the Cabinet. Grey retired and Melbourne became Premier. Signs of a Tory reaction now became perceptible. These were welcomed by the King, who was alarmed by the progress of the reforming spirit. When Althorpe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, resigned this year (1834), owing to his transference to the House of Lords, the King seized the opportunity to dismiss the Melbourne Cabinet and to place Sir Robert Peel at the head of the Government. Peel appealed to the country but failed to obtain a majority, and, having held office only four months, was obliged to resign, Melbourne, in April, 1835, again returning to power. The chief measure of the session was the Municipal Reform Act, by which Town Councils were reformed. By this ratepayers and freemen were given the right to appoint town councillors, who elected the magistrates from among themselves.

In 1835 Henry Constantine Phipps, second Earl of Mulgrave, was appointed Lord-Lieutenant, and Lord Morpeth became Chief Secretary. The Attorney-General was Louis

Perrin, who had the courage to rescind the rule, till then observed by the Crown Prosecutors in Ireland, which required that Catholics should be set aside when called on the jury panel. "If we Protestants", said Perrin, "when accused rightly or wrongly of crime, were not allowed to have one of our own creed among the jurors, what sort of loyalists would we be?" This act of Perrin's put an end to the worst evils of jury-packing in Ireland.

The three great Acts of the Melbourne administration as regards Ireland were the final settlement of the tithe question, the reform of the Irish Municipal Corporations, and the establishment of the Irish Poor Law. The Tithe Bill, introduced on the 25th of April, 1836, by Lord Morpeth, the Chief Secretary, contained a series of provisions for the appropriation of the surplus revenues of the Irish Church, estimated at £58,000, "to the promotion of religious and moral education in Ireland". Stanley opposed the Bill on the ground that no portion of ecclesiastical dues ought to be used save for upholding the interests of the Protestant Church. The Tithe Bill was rejected, but in 1836 it was again passed by the Commons and again rejected by the Lords.

O'Connell upon this immediately proceeded to organize a National Association for the promotion of municipal and tithe reform and the superintendence of elections in the popular interest. He was joined in his crusade by Sheil, Cloncurry, and Sharman Crawford, a Protestant and large land proprietor in Ulster. The action of the last-named raised a spirit of resistance among the Presbyterians in the province, especially in Belfast and Londonderry. In Belfast a Presbyterian clergyman named Henry Cooke threw the whole force of his powers of courage and eloquence into the contest, and succeeded in making a powerful demonstration of Protestant principles. Dr. Cooke's energy in the cause to which he was attached was recognized in Belfast by the erection, after his death, of a bronze statue to his memory,

which, owing to the hue it has acquired with time, is now, alas! popularly known as "the Black Man".

The English Radicals and Irish Catholics made, in 1836, a heavy onslaught in Parliament on the Orange lodges in the United Kingdom. The Orange Association in 1835 had become very powerful in Ireland. It had many lodges in the army. The Duke of Cumberland was Grand Master, and Percival, a member of Parliament who held office in 1834 under Peel, was Grand Treasurer. A Colonel Fairman, who had been very energetic in establishing regimental lodges, and was accused, before committees of the House of Commons, of treasonable practices, was Deputy-Grand Secretary. The proceedings of the Orange body were investigated by the Committee of the House, and the result was the discovery of a widespread conspiracy to change the succession of the crown in favour of the Duke of Cumberland. It was also ascertained that though the Duke of York had withdrawn from the Grand Mastership on being informed of its illegality, and had, as Commander-in-Chief, forbidden the formation of Orange lodges in the army, his brother, the Duke of Cumberland, who succeeded him in the Grand Mastership, had signed warrants for the formation of such lodges.

A motion was made by Hume for an address to the Crown praying for the removal of every judge, privy councillor, lord-lieutenant, magistrate, militia officer, inspector, or constable who attended the meeting of any Orange lodge, any Ribbon lodge, or any political club whatever. This motion was successfully resisted by Lord John Russell, who wisely invited the House to "leave it to the King to take such measures as he might deem advisable for the effectual discouragement of Orange lodges, and generally of all political societies". This proved sufficient. The Orangemen undertook to comply with the wishes of the Crown, and the Duke of Cumberland withdrew from the Association.

In January, 1837, the conduct of the Irish Government of Lord Mulgrave was bitterly attacked by Mr. Serjeant Jackson, one of the members for Belfast. The Lord-Lieutenant defended himself ably, but such was the spirit the subsequent debate produced that Morpeth was shortly afterwards recalled.

On the 20th of June the King died. He was succeeded by his niece, the Princess Alexandrina Victoria, only daughter of the Duke of Kent.

CHAPTER XXIII

Early Victorian Years

Accession of Queen Victoria—No Change in the Ministry—The Tithe Question settled—The Poor Relief Act passed—Rise of the Young Ireland Party—Foundation of Queen's College, Belfast—The Report of the Devon Commission—Low Rate of Wages in Ulster—The Famine Years—Emigration to America from Ulster—Ulster Tenant-Right—Smith O'Brien's Rebellion—John Mitchel, an Ulster Man, concerned—Shooting Affray—Orangemen and Ribbonmen at Dolly's Brae—The Government and Earl of Roden—The Queen visits Ireland.

The accession of Queen Victoria in June, 1837, strengthened the Ministry. Instead of having the influence of the Crown against him, as in William's reign, the Premier, who was received and retained with marked favour, had now the advantage of the fact that the young Queen, who had just completed her eighteenth year, was dependent on him for guidance and advice in constitutional matters. Parliament was prorogued on the 17th of July by Her Majesty in person, when the only subject on which the Speaker, on his attendance with the Commons to hear the royal address in the Lords, could reply concerning Ireland was the settlement of the tithe question. Parliament was immediately afterwards dissolved. The elections were conducted with unusual violence, even for Ireland, and a large majority of Roman Catholics and Liberals were returned. The registers of the electors were said to have been tampered with, and an association was organized to collect money to contest the elections of many of the Irish members. This was one of the first subjects taken up by the new Parliament, which met in November.

A Bill introduced in 1837, but which was suspended by the dissolution of Parliament which followed the demise of

the Crown, "proposed the erection of 100 Workhouses, where relief and employment should be afforded to the poor, infirm, and able-bodied". The Bill passed in July, 1838, after an important amendment had been introduced by the House of Lords, at the instance of the Duke of Wellington, whereby each union was subdivided into electoral districts, each district to be chargeable with its own poor, in order that every parish should bear its own burden. "On the whole", says Sir Rowland Blennerhassett, "the operation of the poor law must be pronounced to have been successful. There was at at once a perceptible diminution of the crowds of beggars which used to be seen on the roads near the villages and towns, and whose numbers and wild and withered appearance have been so often described in the writings of men who travelled in Ireland."

O'Connell now founded the Repeal Association, and, making the Union the object of his attack, insisted that it was the origin and sole cause of the misfortunes of Ireland. In this he was ably aided by the writers in *The Nation* newspaper (founded in 1842), of whom the most prominent were Thomas Davis and Gavan Duffy. These writers became known as the "Young Ireland" party, and they introduced a new element into political life in Ireland. "There are in Ireland", wrote one of the party, "two nations, interfused yet distinct; with separate traditions, and differing in blood, temperament, and religion." The idea of the Young Irelanders was to get the two nations to work together; to recognize, as in the days of the United Irishmen, that they had become one people, and that they had interests in common, with a common foe in the British Parliament. The two nations were, of course, the inhabitants of Ulster and largely those of Leinster, as opposed to the population of Munster and Connaught. O'Connell's repeal agitation ended in his being arrested, tried, found guilty, and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. His trial forms no part of the

history of Ulster, although O'Connell undoubtedly represented Ireland, and he had a powerful influence in the north.

The parliamentary proceedings of 1845 were marked by the introduction of Bills for the better manangement of Charitable Trusts in Ireland. At the opening of the session Sir Robert Peel carried a Bill, in the face of much opposition, whereby £26,000 per annum was appropriated out of the Consolidated Fund for the better sustenance and payment of the students and professors of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. Sir James Graham followed up this measure of conciliation by one of still greater magnitude. He, in the course of the session, carried through Parliament the grant of £100,000 for the establishment of three colleges for secular education, and in order to avoid the possibility of any religious differences he determined to refrain from instituting any faculty for theology in any of them. The colleges were shortly afterwards founded, one of them being established in Belfast. For this purpose the Academical Institution of the Presbyterians, to which four Professors of Divinity were attached, and which was under the direction of the General Assembly of Ulster, with a grant from Parliament of £2100 per annum, was handed over for the general benefit of the new Queen's College.

Ireland was now threatened with tribulation in comparison with which the sufferings she had hitherto experienced faded into insignificance. Famine, that most awful of all enemies, was soon to hold sway over the unhappy land. In 1845 the population was over 8,000,000, of whom it was calculated that at least one-half were dependent on the potato for subsistence. The potato enabled a large family to live on food produced in abundance at a trifling cost, and, as a result, the increase of the population had been enormous. There had, however, been no corresponding improvement in the material and social condition of the people. Their condition was deplorable, and their sufferings, borne with exemplary

patience, were, in the opinion of the Census Commissioners of 1841, greater than that which the people of any other country in Europe had to endure.

In the Digest of Evidence given before the Devon Commissioners we read: "In the counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Londonderry, and Tyrone, the most general rate of daily wages appeared to be 10*d.* a day in winter, and 1*s.* in summer. In Donegal, Fermanagh, Monaghan, Louth, and Meath, 8*d.* in winter, and 10*d.* in summer; and in all the other counties, except Dublin, where 1*s.* per day was usually paid, the general daily pay seemed to be 8*d.*" Except in Ulster, where the linen industry held its own, great masses of the population of Ireland were in consequence thrown back on the soil for subsistence, and over a large portion of the country had nothing save a few potatoes between themselves and starvation. In the debates of 1843 it was pointed out that the admitted deterioration in the quality of the potato was likely to be followed by serious consequences. The soil, exhausted by the crop, and not invigorated by any restoratives, was every year producing an increasingly weaker plant, inviting, if it did not actually produce, the attack of the blight, which in September, 1845, again began to appear in different parts of the country, and by the end of the year was making terrible ravages.

In January, 1846, Peel introduced a measure for the Repeal of the Corn Laws, which became law in June. The duty on imported corn was reduced at once to 4*s.* per quarter; and after three years it was to be reduced to the nominal rate of 1*s.* per quarter. Peel's supporters were for a time known as the Protectionist party, under the leadership of Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby. On the very day on which the Lords passed the Repeal Act the Ministry was defeated on the question of the Irish Crimes Bill. Peel at once resigned, and in July Lord John Russell became Premier.

In Ireland, suffering and poverty brought with them their usual concomitant of crime and outrage. In the course of 1846 the constabulary was increased to 10,000 men, and large bodies of troops were poured into the distracted country. Large stores of provisions were also poured in. Lord John Russell introduced a Bill for the construction of public works in Ireland, the cost of which was to be defrayed out of the Consolidated Fund. Lord John also obtained the sanction of Parliament to a grant of £50,000 for the most distressed districts, upon urgent representations made of the state of the country by Lord Enniskillen and others possessed of large landed property in the country. In March, 1847, the number of those employed on the public works is given at 734,000. Nevertheless, in remote districts, where the famine was at its worst, men, women, and children died of hunger by scores, owing to the difficulties of communication. "Have we ever known or read of anything surpassing it?" Mr. Horsman exclaimed in the House of Commons; "a rich Empire in a Christian age! One inspector likens it to a country devastated by an enemy: it is more as if the destroying angel had swept over it—the whole population struck down; the air a pestilence; the fields a solitude; the chapel deserted; the priest and the pauper famishing together; no inquest, no rites, no record even of the dead; the highroad a charnel-house, the land a chaos; a ruined proprietary, a panic-struck absconding tenantry; the soil untilled, the workhouse a moral pest; death, desolation, despair, reigning through the land."

By August, 1847, the famine may be said to have terminated, and the public works were wound up, the destitute, amounting to about 3,000,000 were kept alive by the action of Relief Committees, materially aided by the splendid munificence of British charity. But Ireland was now experiencing further changes. The population, which had hitherto been constantly increasing, was now rapidly

decreasing. Fever came in the wake of famine, and continued (long after the potato blight had ceased) to decimate the people. Under these combined disasters the great movement of emigration from Ireland to the United States of America began which has continued ever since. Four years earlier the emigration had been to the Canadas, John Mitchel stating that one M'Mullin, an Emigration Agent, inserted in a Londonderry paper, in 1843, an announcement to the effect that: "A favourable opportunity presents itself in the course of the present month, for Quebec, to gentlemen residing in the Counties of Londonderry, Donegal, Tyrone, or Fermanagh, who wish to send out to the Canadas the overstock tenantry belonging to their estates, as a moderate rate of passage will be taken, and six months' credit given for a lump sum to any gentleman requiring such accommodation".

In the early years of the famine emigration on a large scale was a novelty, and in too many instances the arrangements were hopelessly inadequate for the comforts of the emigrants. Except where a few wealthy and benevolent landlords (whose efforts in this respect were referred to in Parliament with approbation by Sir Robert Peel) were able to see that the proper conditions were fulfilled the horrors of the journey to America were such that Mr. de Vere, who took a passage in the steerage of an emigrant ship and remained on board two months, describes the "hundreds of poor people", as being "huddled together without light, without air, wallowing in filth, and breathing a fetid atmosphere, sick in body, dispirited in heart, the fevered patients lying between the sound, in sleeping-places so narrow as almost to deny them the power of indulging by a change of position the natural restlessness of the disease; by their agonized ravings disturbing those around, and predisposing them through the effects of the imagination to imbibe the contagion; living without food or medicine, except as

administered by the hand of casual charity; dying without the voice of spiritual consolation, and buried in the deep without the rites of the Church". Mr. de Vere's letter, describing what he saw, was adopted by the Colonial Office as a public document.

The emigration from Ulster, notwithstanding the statements of Mitchel, was not so numerous as from other parts of Ireland; for while the rest of the country was clamouring for what O'Connell called "fixity of tenure", Ulster enjoyed a kind of unwritten law, or established custom, which gave tenants permanence of tenure in their lands. It is known as the Tenant-Right of Ulster. By virtue of that tenant-right a farmer, though his tenure might be nominally *at will*, could not be ejected so long as he paid his rent; and if he wished to remove to another part of the country he could sell his *goodwill* in the farm to an incoming tenant. Of course the greater his improvements were the larger the price his tenant-right would command; in other words, the improvements made by his own or his father's industry were his to dispose of. This custom prevented rents from being arbitrarily raised in proportion to the improved value; so that in many cases lands held *at will* in Ulster, and subject to an ample rent, were sold by one tenant-at-will to another tenant-at-will at full half the fee-simple value of the land. Conveyances were made of it; it was a valuable property, and any violent invasion of it would, as a witness told the Devon Commission, have "made Down another Tipperary". This custom was almost wholly confined to Ulster. It was by no means created or commenced by the terms of the Plantation of Ulster, but was a relic of the ancient free social polity of the Irish, and had continued in Ulster longer than in the other provinces simply because Ulster was the last portion of Ireland to be brought under British rule and forced to exchange for feudal tenures the ancient system of tribal lands.

The year 1848 was stormy all over Europe. In France there was a third Revolution. There were tumults at Vienna, Berlin, and Rome. There were Chartist riots in England, and a great meeting assembled on the 10th of April on Kennington Common to escort Feargus O'Connor to Parliament with a petition embodying their demands. These disturbances were taken advantage of by William Smith O'Brien and other members of the Repeal Society (O'Connell having died in May, 1847) to excite the people to rebel. A feeble rising took place in Tipperary, but it was suppressed by a few policemen. The leaders were soon taken, four being condemned to death, but the sentence was afterwards changed to exile. They were ultimately released one by one, or allowed to escape. The northern province was represented in this "Cabbage-garden" affair (as it was called from the fact of Smith O'Brien having concealed himself in such a garden) by John Mitchel, the son of a Unitarian minister of Ulster. He remained till his death an uncompromising enemy of England.

At this time circumstances occurred in Ulster which were peculiarly vexatious and embarrassing to the Government. The Party Processions Act of 1829 had for some time expired, when the Orangemen in the north determined on the 12th of July, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, to pay a compliment to the Earl of Roden, who was considered the head of the Protestant party in Ireland. Accordingly large numbers of Orangemen assembled on the morning of the 12th arrayed in scarves and wearing favours, and variously armed, and proceeded to Tollymore Park, the seat of the Earl. They set out, some on foot and a large number on horseback, carrying the flags and banners usually exhibited in the old days of Orange ascendancy, and reached the Pass of Dolly's Brae, near Castlewellan, the summit of a little height which was in the direct route to the Park. Here they found a large body of Ribbonmen collected, also

armed; and a number of police had also assembled to keep the peace; and, chiefly through the efforts of the latter, peace was maintained.

On arriving at the mansion the procession was received by the Earl, to whom an address was presented expressing great admiration for his conduct as a Protestant nobleman. This having been graciously replied to by Earl Roden, the members of the procession were entertained in the Park, and, as was natural, much enthusiasm was displayed, and in high spirits the Orangemen fired guns and made speeches. On their return journey they found the Ribbonmen still occupying their former position. It was agreed that no gun should be fired, and silence was preserved as the Orangemen defiled through the pass. It was then dusk, and all might have been well but that a lighted squib was thrown into the midst of the Orangemen, by whose hand it was never discovered.

The Orangemen, excited by the apprehension of an attack, immediately turned and fired. This the Ribbonmen returned, and, notwithstanding the efforts of the police, a sort of running fire was kept up, by which several on both sides were wounded and six of the Ribbonmen were killed on the spot. Everyone now desired to escape, with the result that the ground was soon cleared of the assailed and the assailants. A commission was appointed to enquire into the facts, and the result of the investigation was a decision on the part of the Government to remove several magistrates from the Commission of the Peace and to displace the Earl of Roden from the Lord-Lieutenancy of the County Armagh.

With the view of restoring confidence, and evoking the sentiment of personal loyalty to the Throne on the side of law and the existing form of government, the Queen, in August, 1849, visited Ireland, and received an enthusiastic welcome from all classes and creeds.

CHAPTER XXIV

"The Ulster Custom"

The Encumbered Estates Act—The Navigation Acts repealed—Sharman Crawford's Tenant-Right Bill—Foundation of Tenant-protection Societies—The General Tenant-Right Association holds a Conference in Dublin—Dr. M'Knight, an Ulsterman and Presbyterian, Editor of the *Banner of Ulster*, chosen as President—Establishment of the Irish Tenant-Right League—A True Union of North and South—Napier, the Irish Attorney-General, introduces Four Land Bills—They pass the House of Commons, but are abandoned by the Lords—Lord-Chancellor Brady on Orangemen—Agrarian Discontent—The Glenveagh Evictions—Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

The history of Ulster now chiefly consists of a chronicle of the various measures taken in Parliament to benefit the country at large. One of the most important was entitled the Encumbered Estates Act, finally passed on the 28th of July, 1849, the first result of which was the establishment of the Encumbered Estates Court Commission to carry out the sale of the estates of embarrassed owners. The first idea of this mode of relief had been started by Sir Robert Peel in 1846 in a casual remark made in the course of a debate upon the Irish Poor Law, when he drew his illustration of the benefit likely to accrue from the suggestion by the advantage enjoyed in the prosperous condition of Ulster, which arose out of the resettlement of the province by Cromwell in the seventeenth century. As we have seen, it had its origin, not in Cromwell's resettlement, but in the fact that Ulster was the last to abandon the old tribal system of land-tenure. This measure was followed by the Land

Improvements Act, by which a Commission was established with funds at its disposal to be advanced to the landlords for the improvement of land, to be repaid within limited periods. The Poor Rate was gradually reduced, and a grant of £620,000 was voted in aid of the construction of railways. The Navigation Acts were finally repealed this year (1849) and thus the last obstacle to the cheap importation of food supplies was removed from the Statute-book. In 1850 several feeble attempts to settle the question of tenants' improvements came to nothing. Sharman Crawford's Bill for extending the Ulster custom was rejected. For several sessions he had introduced Bills for this purpose, but without success, the majority of the members of Parliament regarding Sharman Crawford's Bill as a proposal of confiscation. A vigorous land agitation now commenced. Tenant-protection Societies sprang up throughout the south and west, and early in the year the tenants of Ulster, who at the beginning of the famine had formed a general Tenant-Right Association, adopted the same plan of local defence.

In order to present a united front, a Conference was summoned "to devise some specific measure of legislation to be sought for, and some plan of united action for its accomplishment". The Conference met in Dublin on the 6th of August, 1850, and presented the strange spectacle of a genuine league of the north and south. "Reserved stern Covenanters from the north," says Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, "ministers and their elders for the most part, with a group of brighter recruits from a new generation, who came afterwards to be known as Young Ulster, sat beside priests who had lived through the horrors of a famine which left their churches empty and their graveyards overflowing; flanked by farmers who survived that evil time like the veterans of a hard campaign; while citizens, professional men, the popular journalists from the four provinces, and the founders and officers of the Tenant Protection Societies, completed the

assembly." No dissenting voice was raised when an Ulster man and Presbyterian, Dr. James M'Knight, the editor of the *Banner of Ulster*, who had for years been pleading the tenants' cause, was chosen as president. It was a league of north and south, but only partially a league of Protestants and Catholics. The Presbyterian leaders stood with the people, but the Episcopalians were mostly ranged on the landlords' side, while the priests were fighting their own battle in fighting that of the tenants.

Having discussed matters for three days the conference resolved upon their programme, of which the chief points were: fair rents to be determined by valuation; the exclusion of tenants' improvements from the valuation; security from disturbance of possession so long as the valuation rent was paid; and a provision of relief with regard to arrears of rent which had accrued due during the famine. These points the delegates determined to press upon Parliament. The conference concluded by formally establishing the Irish Tenant-Right League, and by appointing a general council of the four provinces.

For the two years following the leaders devoted themselves mainly to popular agitation. Deputations were sent to all parts of the country to spread the principles of the League, to enroll new members, and to form local organizations. Presbyterians went to preach the cause in the south, and Catholics to preach it in the north. Everywhere the meetings were enthusiastic, and the Press took up the subject with zeal and pleaded for justice to Ireland with acumen and energy. Early in 1852 the Ministry was defeated on a Militia Bill, and resigned, having held office for four years. The Earl of Derby then formed a Conservative Ministry in which Benjamin Disraeli was Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons. In the election the Irish Tenant-Right League laboured with great energy to secure the return of a tenant-right party. The candidates

were pledged not only to advocate tenant-right in Parliament, but to adopt a policy of independent opposition, holding themselves aloof from both English parties and supporting no Government which refused to grant a satisfactory tenant-right measure.

Some fifty members were returned pledged to tenant-right and independent opposition. To all appearance the League had been so far successful that they had formed a party strong enough in numbers to turn the scale on either side. In order to determine the course of action, a Conference was held in Dublin two months before the meeting of Parliament. The principles of Sharman Crawford's Bill, with some additional clauses, were unanimously declared to be the minimum that could be accepted, and it was also resolved that the tenant-right members "should hold themselves perfectly independent of, and in opposition to, all Governments which do not make it a part of their policy, and a Cabinet question, to give to the tenantry of Ireland a measure fully embodying the principles of Sharman Crawford's Bill".

In November, 1852, Napier, the Irish Attorney-General, introduced four Bills which closely followed the recommendations of the Devon Commission, and which admitted the principle of nearly everything claimed by the League. These four Bills, with the Bill of the Tenant-Right League, were referred to a select committee. In the Lords the Earl of Roden asked whether, by consenting to this course, the Government meant to give their sanction to "propositions of so communistic a nature", a question which Lord Derby evaded by summarizing the Napier Code without comment, and by declaring that he thought the Bill of the Tenant League to be destructive of the rights of property. The fall of the Ministry quickly followed. Every Irish member who had pledged himself to the policy of independent opposition was bound to stand on the other side, and on Disraeli's

Budget the Government were defeated by nineteen votes, and resigned in December.

Lord Aberdeen now formed a Coalition Ministry, consisting of Whigs and Peelites, and including Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston, and William Ewart Gladstone. The new Ministry was pledged to a Free Trade policy. Certain members of the Irish Parliamentary party took office in this Government: Mr. Keogh was made Solicitor-General for Ireland, Mr. John Sadleir became a Lord of the Treasury, and Mr. O'Flaherty was made a Commissioner of Income Tax. These men had been pledged to the principle of the Tenant-Right League, and their desertions helped to break it up. All unity of action disappeared, and gradually the League lost its power in Parliament. In 1853 the Napier Bills passed through the House of Commons. In the House of Lords they were read a second time and then, on account of the opposition which they excited, abandoned for the session. The only other matter of interest in the Parliamentary history of the year was the extension of the income-tax to Ireland.

The outbreak of the Crimean War early in 1854 placed such measures as the Tenant-Right Bill in the background, Napier indignantly asserting that "it is notorious that the House of Lords will pass no such measure, and that for a Government to propose it to them, or to pretend to support it, is an imposture and a sham". In 1856 the Tenant League, which still met from time to time, resolved, after their Bill had failed for the year, to clear it of its most objectionable clauses—those legalizing the Ulster custom, the valuation clauses, the O'Connell clause providing that improvements should be presumed to be the tenant's till the contrary was proved, and others which were likely to be resisted—but the mutilated Bill met with even less respect than its predecessors had done, and the question of tenant-right almost ceased to excite any political interest.

Though the Crime and Outrage Act of 1848 had been renewed from year to year, and still existed under the title of the Peace Preservation Act, the country was still harassed by the crimes of Ribbonmen and Orangemen. Belfast was the scene of many scandalous riots caused by the latter. So dangerous to the peace of the country did this organization appear to be that in 1857 Lord Chancellor Brady, in a letter to Londonderry, gave notice that for the future he should require from every person holding the Commission of the Peace an assurance that he was not and would not, while he held the commission, become a member of the society. This declaration raised a storm of indignation. Early in 1858 a deputation, headed by Mr. (afterwards Lord) Cairns, waited on Lord Palmerston to present a memorial of protest against Lord Chancellor Brady's declaration. They met with no encouragement. Lord Palmerston was at a loss to understand the merits or use of the association, and gave his opinion that nothing could be more desirable for the real interests of Ireland than its complete abandonment, and thus the matter ended and the Brady letter led to nothing.

Agrarian discontent reached such a pitch in 1859 that the Government determined that something must be done to place the law of landlord and tenant on a better footing. With this view two important measures were carried through Parliament in 1860. The first of these, the Landed Property (Ireland) Improvement Act, dealt with the existing restrictions on the powers of limited owners, and with the improvements effected by certain classes of tenants upon their holdings. The second Act, the Landlord and Tenant Law Amendment Act (Ireland), consolidated and amended the law. It declared that the relation should be deemed to be founded on the express or implied contract of the parties, and not upon tenure or service. The second Act made the tenant's position worse than before. "Every improvement in the real property law", said Professor Richey, "has been

injurious to the tenants; to a man in possession, a defendant in ejection, no system of law is so advantageous as one hopelessly entangled and incomprehensible."

The first Act came into operation on the 2nd of November, 1860; the second on the 1st of January, 1861. They did little or nothing to lessen agrarian agitation. In November, 1860, the agent who acted for Mr. Adair of Derryveagh, in Donegal, was murdered, and, as the murderer could not be found, the district in which it was believed he lived was cleared. This led to the notorious Glenveagh evictions, whereby "Twenty-eight houses were unroofed or levelled; 46 houses evicted; 47 families, comprising 37 husbands, 35 wives, 159 children, 13 other inmates, making a total of 244 persons", rendered homeless.

In 1862 the conditions of poor relief were greatly modified by an Act passed in accordance with the recommendations of a committee appointed in 1861 to enquire into the Irish Poor Law system.

The treasonous plottings of the Fenians or Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood about this time (1865) assumed alarming proportions. The association was organized in the United States, and drew its chief strength from beyond the Atlantic. Possessed of a secret machinery of passwords and oaths, it aimed at the separation of Ireland from the British Crown. Money was raised, midnight drills were held, the artisans and peasantry were induced to take the oath, and an insurrection was fast ripening when an informer handed in a letter written by James Stephens, a "Head centre", in which the writer declared that "This year . . . the flag of the Irish Republic must be raised". The Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Wodehouse, immediately took action and suddenly seized some of the ring-leaders in the office of the *Irish People* in Dublin. A Special Commission tried the prisoners, who were sentenced to various terms of penal servitude.

Early in 1866 it was found necessary to suspend the

Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland—a step which had the effect of driving the American adventurers out of the country; but arms and money continued to pour into Ireland from the States. A slight rising in March, 1867, was easily quelled by the Royal Irish Constabulary. By the beginning of 1868 the violent phase of Fenianism was nearly at an end. In February the failure of the Earl of Derby's health caused the elevation of Disraeli to the position of Prime Minister. The other prominent members of the Conservative Government were Lord Stanley, who was Foreign Secretary, Sir Stafford Northcote, Indian Secretary, and Sir Hugh (afterwards Earl) Cairns, who became Lord Chancellor. Mr. Gladstone now moved a series of resolutions declaring the disestablishment of the Irish Church to be just and necessary. The first and most important resolution was carried by a large majority. There were many arguments against disestablishment urged both within and without Parliament. Towards the end of the struggle, when the inevitable result was foreseen, loud were the threats of the Orange Association: "If ever they dare", said the Rev. Mr. Flanagan, "to lay unholy hands upon the Church, 200,000 Orangemen will tell them it never shall be. . . . Protestant loyalty must make itself understood. People will say, 'Oh, your loyalty is conditional.' I say it is conditional, and it must be explained as such. . . . We must speak out boldly and tell our gracious Queen that if she break her oath, she has no longer any claim to the crown." That the clergyman just quoted was not alone in his opinions may be seen from the rhetoric employed by the Rev. Nash Griffin, who declared that the Protestants "would not suffer themselves to be robbed of their blood-bought rights. They were animated by the same spirit as broke the boom, as closed the gates of Derry; by the same spirit as chased the craven followers of James like timid sheep into the Boyne; and if one of the two parties should go to the wall, it would not be the Protestants." Such was the

language employed. "In short," says Mr. G. P. Macdonell (not the least brilliant of the essayists on Irish history) in words written in 1907, "Great Britain appeared to be on the brink of a bloody war with Ulster."

Parliament was dissolved in November. The general election placed Gladstone in power, and on the 1st of March, 1869, he introduced a Bill for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of Ireland. After long and fierce debate it was read a third time in the House of Commons by 361 votes to 247. Modifications were made in accordance with amendments carried in the House of Lords, and the Bill passed into law on the 26th of July. The provisions included compensation for the *Regium Donum* and other payments to Nonconformists. Thus was settled "the most beneficial and healing measure which could possibly be passed for the United Kingdom in general and for Ireland in particular".

CHAPTER XXV

First Home Rule Bill

Gladstone, Premier—The Irish Land Act of 1870—The Ballot Act—The Home Rule League founded—Gladstone resigns in 1874, and Disraeli becomes Premier—Motion on Home Rule moved in the House of Commons by Isaac Butt—It is defeated by a Very Large Majority—Advent of Charles Stewart Parnell—Commencement of "Obstruction"—Failure of Potato Crop—Foundation of the Land League—Relief of Distress Act—W. E. Forster, Chief Secretary; Earl Cowper, Lord-Lieutenant—Protection of Life and Property Act—"The Three F's"—The Land League proclaimed—Parnell imprisoned—The Phœnix Park Murders—Earl Spencer, Lord-Lieutenant—Gladstone introduces his First Home Rule Bill—Excitement in Ulster—An Irish Land Purchase Bill—Loyalists arm in Ulster—Riots in Belfast—Home Rule Bill defeated.

The Liberal Government formed under the Premiership of W. E. Gladstone included for the first time members of the Advanced Liberal or Radical party. Chief of these was John Bright, who became President of the Board of Trade. An Irish Land Act was the chief legislative work of the session of 1870. So rapidly had opinion ripened on the question that Gladstone's Bill passed through Parliament without meeting any very serious opposition. The Act, which received the royal assent in August, gave legal recognition to tenant-right in Ulster, and to a similar custom in other parts of Ireland. It conferred on tenants rights of compensation for being turned out by the landlord and for improvements made by them during their tenure. "In appearance", said Professor Richey, "it gave the tenant no new rights, nor in anywise deprived the landlord of any; but attempted to effect its object in a circuitous manner by



WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE IN 1868

affixing what was essentially a penalty to the exercise of rights which it admitted to be legal."

A Ballot Act was one of the achievements of the session of 1872. The House of Lords inserted a clause limiting its operation to eight years; but when the time came for renewing the Act it was made permanent. The Ballot Act abolished the ancient custom of the public nomination of candidates on the hustings.

A ministerial crisis was brought on in 1873 in connection with an Irish University Bill introduced in the House of Commons by Gladstone. The Bill proposed the erection and endowment of a non-denominational university in Dublin, from which the teaching of mental and moral philosophy, of theology, and of modern history should be excluded. On the second reading the Bill was thrown out, and Gladstone resigned. As the Conservatives were not prepared either to carry on the Government with a majority of the House of Commons against them, or to appeal to the country at once, Disraeli declined to take office, and Gladstone returned to power.

Gladstone's Irish measures had produced quietness in Ireland but not contentment. It was seen, however, that the Fenians had gone too far in demanding total separation from England. A more moderate demand was made towards the close of 1870—a demand for legislative independence under a federal scheme. To carry out the scheme there was formed in Dublin the Home Government Association of Ireland, a body in which Conservatives and Liberals, Protestants and Catholics, were brought together by their common belief in self-government as the remedy for Irish evils. The scheme of the association (which was reconstituted in 1873 under the name of the Home Rule League) provided for an Irish Parliament, which should manage the internal affairs of Ireland, and have control over Irish resources and revenues, subject to the obligation of contributing a just proportion

towards imperial expenditure, Ireland continuing to be represented on imperial questions in the Imperial Parliament.

In January, 1874, Gladstone suddenly dissolved Parliament. Although he put in the forefront of his manifesto a promise to abolish income-tax, the country declared against him. Nearly sixty Home Rulers were returned for Irish constituencies, and Home Rule made its first appearance in Parliament when a motion on the subject was made by its exponent of the scheme, Isaac Butt, the member for Limerick. In the new Parliament the Conservatives had a majority of 50 over Liberals and Home Rulers combined. Gladstone at once resigned, and Disraeli became Premier for the second time. The pleas for Home Rule were that Ireland was entitled to manage her own affairs, and that the Imperial Parliament was overburdened with work. Disraeli heaped ridicule on the proposal, which was rejected by 458 votes to 61. Notwithstanding this rebuff, Butt, the leader of the Home Rule party, brought the proposal before the House of Commons year after year without success. This led to a division in the Home Rule ranks. The main body, under Butt, and after his death, in 1879, under Shaw, still favoured a moderate policy; while a minority, led by Charles Stewart Parnell, determined to carry on a more vigorous mode of procedure.

The session of 1877 is memorable for an extraordinary development of "Obstruction" in the House of Commons by the Irish members. Feeling themselves powerless to obtain the Home Rule measure they demanded, from a Parliament in which they formed a small minority, they resolved to punish the majority by preventing the ordinary business of the House from being advanced. Obstruction was practised systematically, and was reduced to a science. The forms of the House, which were designed to facilitate business, were ingeniously used to retard it by Parnell, aided by Biggar,

O'Donnell, and other Home Rulers. Butt did not approve of these tactics, and ultimately threw up his leadership of the party in disgust. The Government proposed and carried new Rules of Procedure, limiting the powers of members in speaking and in repeating motions in Committee. The remedy was only partially successful, and it was found necessary to amend the rules again and again.

A wet season in 1878 led to a failure of the potato crop, and also of the peat supply. Famine seemed imminent. Political agitators took advantage of the distress to incite the people against the Government. The Home Rulers, now led by Parnell, put themselves at the head of the discontent. The Land League, an association organized by Michael Davitt, was formally established under the presidency of Parnell, its objects being, firstly, to bring about a reduction of rack-rents, and, secondly, to facilitate the obtaining of the ownership of the soil by the occupiers. The league soon acquired a position of popular power such as no organization had ever held in Ireland before, but owing to the state of the franchise it had not a representation in Parliament of corresponding strength. It advised the farmers not to pay rent. Landlords and their agents were shot; the cattle and goods of those who obeyed the law were destroyed. There came into vogue a system of social persecution which consisted in refusing to associate or to trade with anyone who submitted to the law. This was termed "boycotting", from a Captain Boycott who was its first victim.

The Queen's Speech at the opening of Parliament in February, 1880, expressed deep sympathy with the condition of the population in certain parts of Ireland, and announced that a grant would be made from the Irish Church surplus with the view of alleviating the distress. A Relief of Distress Act, in fulfilment of this promise, was at once passed. In March, Disraeli, who had been raised to the peerage as Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876, deemed it prudent to appeal

to the country. In the general election which followed the Liberals had a majority of 46 over Conservatives and Home Rulers combined. Gladstone was recalled to power, and formed a Ministry which included a still larger representation of the Radical party than his former Ministry.

Though this general election increased the Home Rule vote to 64, not more than half this number joined Parnell, either in the agrarian revolt which he headed or in his continuous and violent resistance during the Gladstone administration to the severe repressive measures that accompanied the new land legislation. The serious view of the state of Ireland taken by Gladstone was shown by his appointment of W. E. Forster as Irish Chief Secretary and of Earl Cowper as Lord-Lieutenant. The Government now allowed the Peace Preservation Act to lapse, and passed a second Relief of Distress Act. These conciliatory measures were, however, of little avail in presence of the growing distress and disorder. The withholding of rents at the instigation of the Land League was met by evictions on the side of the landlords, and agrarian outrages of a terrible type became common.

Early in the session of 1881 a Protection of Life and Property Act and a new Peace Preservation Act were passed in the Commons, in the face of determined obstruction. At one sitting 36 Irish members were suspended for defying the authority of the Speaker. A new Land Act was passed, granting to tenants more liberal terms than the Act of 1870. These included "the three F's"—Fair Rents, to be fixed by a Land Court; Fixity of Tenure; and Free Sale of their holdings by tenants. Forster's rule in Ireland was strong. Persons suspected of agitating in a manner calculated to endanger life or property were imprisoned. Among those imprisoned as "suspects" were Parnell and two other Irish members of Parliament. The Land League retaliated by issuing a *No-Rent Manifesto*. Thereupon the Government

proclaimed the Land League as "an illegal and criminal association".

In May, 1882, the three imprisoned Irish members of Parliament were released, and Forster, disgusted at this leniency, resigned, his office of Chief Secretary being filled by Lord Frederick Cavendish. At the same time Earl Spencer took the place of Earl Cowper as Lord-Lieutenant. At five o'clock in the evening of the very day on which he arrived in Dublin to take up his duties, Lord Frederick Cavendish and the Chief Under-Secretary, Burke, were done to death with knives by a gang of men employed by a secret society calling themselves "the Irish Invincibles", whose avowed object was "to make history". Nearly twelve months elapsed before any of the murderers were captured, when five were hanged and others imprisoned. Immediately after the murder of these innocent officials the Government passed a stringent Prevention of Crimes Act, and also an Arrears Act for the relief of tenants. The Crimes Act was vigorously administered by Earl Spencer and by G. O. Trevelyan, who had taken the post of Chief Secretary. During the two years following, the number of agrarian crimes steadily diminished.

The Parliament of 1880 was dissolved in 1885, having passed the Reform Act, which established the household franchise in Ireland. This great increase in the electorate enabled Parnell to carry all before him, and in the result, out of the total Irish representation of 103, no fewer than 85 members were elected on a strict pledge to follow him. Even in Ulster, 17 out of the 33 seats were gained by the Nationalists. Gladstone accepted the large majority of Nationalists returned from Ireland as proof that the Irish people demanded Home Rule; he therefore made a Government of Ireland Bill his first measure.

The most important features of the Government of Ireland Bill, which was introduced on the 8th of April, 1886, were the establishment in Dublin of a legislative body with execu-

tive powers and comprising two orders; the exclusion of the Irish members from the Imperial Parliament; the committing of all taxation in Ireland, except Excise and Custom duties, to the hands of the legislative body; and the granting of securities for the unity of the Empire and for the protection of minorities and of Protestants.

In Ulster excitement was at its highest pitch. On the evening when the measure was developed the morning papers in Belfast published editions containing Gladstone's speech at intervals as it was transmitted through the telegraphic wires, and large crowds assembled round the newspaper offices eagerly buying copies. The part of the Bill which was most severely scrutinized was the proposal to secure the rights of the minority. It was read with dismay by the Protestants and more respectable Catholics of Ulster. "In a moment they found themselves apparently defenceless and handed over by the statesman in whom many of them had trusted, to a hostile Nationalist majority, from whom they could expect no consideration, and by whom their very loyalty would be regarded as treason to that Irish nationality which has not and never had any impelling, any animating object but hatred of England and of everything English."

A week later Gladstone introduced an Irish Land Purchase Bill which proposed the issue of £50,000,000 of new three-per-cent stock, for the purpose of buying up the estates of landlords who were willing to sell their lands, which were to be allotted to the tenants on easy terms of purchase. These measures were accepted by the Irish Nationalists, but they were strongly opposed by the Conservatives and by a section of the Liberals who broke off from Gladstone and formed the party known as Liberal Unionists. This secession caused the defeat of the Government on the Home Rule Bill, which was, on a second reading, thrown out on the 6th of June, 1886, by a majority of 30.

Before the fate of the Bill was decided, preparations for

resistance were being made in the counties of Ulster. Sir James Haslett, member for the West Division of Belfast, said to a correspondent of the *Birmingham Gazette*: "There can be no doubt that the Loyalists are arming". Advertisements for the supply of 20,000 rifles and for the services of competent drill-instructors appeared in many Ulster newspapers. A statement which produced a great effect was that Lord Wolseley had declared his intention to put himself, in the event of resistance, at the head of the Ulster Unionists. It was a Wolseley, it will be remembered, that commanded the Inniskillings at Newtownbutler when the shout of "Advance!" was raised, and who again won distinction at the Battle of the Boyne. The Irish Nationalist members maintained that Ulster was in a state not far off rebellion. Hostile demonstrations by Catholics and Protestants alike led to serious rioting, one fight between the sects lasting nearly twenty-four hours. The riots in Belfast threatened to extend over all Ulster.

Gladstone, on the defeat of the Bill, dissolved Parliament, and appealed to the country on the single question—self-government or coercion for Ireland. Lord Salisbury, on the other hand, declared the issue to be separation or union. Gladstone was defeated at the polls by a majority of 115, and at once gave way to Lord Salisbury, who took office with the promise of the support of the Liberal-Unionist party. "Had the Home Rule Bill not been defeated, and in consequence of that defeat a new Parliament elected and a new Government constituted, the civil war," said the editor of the *Northern Whig*, "which has been so often threatened, and which I had predicted to Mr. Gladstone himself, would that summer have begun."

CHAPTER XXVI

The Second Home Rule Bill

Mr. A. J. Balfour, Irish Chief Secretary—He enforces the Crimes Act—The Nationalists adopt the Plan of Campaign—Joseph Chamberlain visits Belfast and speaks in the Ulster Hall—He also visits Coleraine—General Election of 1892 gives Gladstone a Majority—Mr. John Morley, Irish Chief Secretary—Belfast created a City—The Ulster Convention—The Duke of Abercorn presides—Mr. Balfour visits Belfast—Gladstone's Second Home Rule Bill—Is thrown out by the Lords—The Ulster Defence Union—Death of Queen Victoria—Lord Salisbury retires—Mr. Balfour, Prime Minister—He resigns, and is succeeded by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman—General Election of 1906—Old-Age Pensions—Liberal Majority of 1910—Attack on the House of Lords—Death of King Edward VII.

The session of 1887 was given up almost wholly to Irish business. The Criminal Law Amendment Act, passed in July, differed from all previous repressive Acts in being permanent. It added largely to the power of the Executive to stop meetings and suppress dangerous associations. A Land Act followed which was designed to restrain evictions and reduce rents, but it took no power to deal with arrears. The Crimes Act was put in force with great energy by Mr. A. J. Balfour, the Irish Chief Secretary, and its effects were seen in a diminution of outrages. The Nationalists adopted a new device entitled "The Plan of Campaign", for the protection of tenants. It consisted in the depositing of rents with trustees until the landlords had agreed to reductions. When Mr. Balfour began his Irish administration, Gladstone and the Home Rule Liberals were closely allied with Parnell and his party, and they acted together. This was seen in the long debates on the address, particularly on

Parnell's amendment, on the efforts to affirm the new rules of procedure, and on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, of which the latter clauses in Committee were only carried by the use of the novel closure. In October Joseph Chamberlain made two speeches in the Ulster Hall, Belfast. He had said: "Ulster must hold its own; it is the very key of the position", and he now asked his audience what they would do in the event of the Home Rule Bill becoming law. The thousands present shouted: "Fight!" In Coleraine Chamberlain promised to assist in resisting "the outrage and the insult that will be put on the loyalty of Ulster if it were submitted to the degrading domination of a Dublin Parliament". Belfast, in the following year, received a visit from Lord Hartington. Gladstone now pledged himself to devote what yet remained of his political life to Irish Home Rule, and not to retire until he had settled that great question.

In 1888 a further sum of £10,000,000 was voted for Irish land purchase, and in 1889 money was voted to develop the drainage of the country and to facilitate trade and locomotion by the introduction of light railways. From one cause or another an undeniable and great improvement in the condition of Ireland took place under the Chief Secretaryship of Mr. Balfour, who visited various parts of the country, including Antrim and Donegal. No attempt, however, was made to deal with the local government question until 1892, when a Bill creating a limited form of county government was introduced. This Bill was soon withdrawn, chiefly on account of the determined opposition of Ulster.

The general election of 1892 gave Gladstone a majority of 40. On the meeting of Parliament a vote of want of confidence was carried by 350 to 310. Lord Salisbury resigned; and Gladstone came back to power, with Lord Rosebery as Foreign Secretary, Sir William Harcourt Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Asquith Home Secretary, and Mr. John

Morley (now Lord Morley of Blackburn) as Secretary for Ireland.

In recognition of the great progress and prosperity of Belfast, which has not unjustly been called the capital of Ulster and the commercial capital of all Ireland, the Government in 1892 conferred upon it the title and privileges of a city. On the 17th of June a great convention, at which over 11,000 delegates, representing all Ulster, were present, was held in a building specially constructed to accommodate so large a gathering. The object of the convention was to prove that Ulster would not submit to Home Rule, in connection with which Gladstone threatened to propose a new measure. The Duke of Abercorn presided at this Convention, and concluded a simple speech, addressed to over 13,000 people, with the statement: "Men of the North, once more I say we will not have Home Rule". The Duke was followed by Sir William Ewart, one of the greatest representatives of the linen trade in the world. He moved the six resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. Thomas Sinclair, ex-president of the Ulster Liberal-Unionist Association. The words of Mr. Sinclair's speech, which won the heartiest approval, were in reply to the threat he stated Gladstone had recently made, to coerce the Ulster Unionists, if necessary, with the Queen's troops. "Fellow-countrymen," said Mr. Sinclair, "Mr. Gladstone's threat is a serious one, but, nevertheless, we can never falter in our resolve. We are children of the Revolution of 1688, and, cost what it may, we will have nothing to do with a Dublin Parliament. If it be ever set up we shall simply ignore its existence." Its Acts will be but as waste paper; the police will find our barracks preoccupied with our own constabulary; its judges will sit in empty court-houses. The early effects of its Executive will be spent in devising means to deal with a passive resistance to its taxation co-extensive with loyalist Ulster."

On Easter Tuesday, the 4th of April, 1893, while Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill was awaiting its second reading in the House of Commons, Mr. Balfour paid a visit to Ulster. Lord Salisbury had accepted an invitation to visit Belfast, but was prevented by illness from carrying out his intentions, and his place was taken by Mr. Balfour. Elaborate preparations were made for his reception. A platform was erected in front of the Linen Hall in Donegal Square, and from this platform Mr. Balfour witnessed a march-past for four hours of the representatives of all the public bodies in Belfast. A copy of the Home Rule Bill was solemnly burnt in public, and stamped upon amid universal applause. In the evening Mr. Balfour addressed a large audience in the Ulster Hall, concluding his speech by saying: "I shall go back to my work in the House of Commons strengthened by the strong convictions I have obtained to-day of what Ulster is, and what Ulster means. And depend upon it, that if the British people can only have it brought home to their minds what Ulster is, and what Ulster means, not all the forces arrayed against you can prevail against righteousness and justice in the end." The Government, foreseeing trouble, now published a prohibition against the importation of arms into Ireland.

When Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill was introduced it was found that the chief change in it was that the Irish members, instead of being excluded from all share in municipal affairs, as in the Bill of 1886, were to sit in the Imperial Parliament, but only to vote on Imperial matters. This proposal, however, created much opposition among Gladstone's followers, on the ground that it would throw the working of the Imperial Parliament into complete confusion. Accordingly, Gladstone reversed his policy, and accepted a proposal that Ireland should be represented in the Imperial Parliament by 80 members, whose votes should be of equal value with those of English and Scottish members, not only in

Imperial affairs, but also in exclusively English and Scottish matters as well.

During the period devoted to the second reading of the Bill some rioting took place in Belfast and Londonderry, but it was not attended by any serious consequences. Lord Salisbury visited Belfast during this period, and addressed a public meeting in the Ulster Hall. He also visited Londonderry. After prolonged discussion, which lasted eighty-two days, the Home Rule Bill was carried through the House of Commons; but on reaching the House of Lords it was thrown out on the second reading by 419 to 41, a fact which excited great popular enthusiasm throughout the whole of Ulster.

The Unionists of the province now turned their attention to the completion of their defensive organization. Rifle clubs were formed in all the counties, and, under the direction of Lord Templetown, were placed in correspondence with Unionist Associations in Great Britain. The Central Assembly of the Ulster Defence Union held their first meeting. It consisted of 600 members, who had been returned to it by the enrolled Unionists of Ulster, with the mandate to declare their policy and direct their defence in the event of a Parliament in Dublin being set up. The Assembly chose their 40 representatives, who, acting with the Unionist Ulster members of both Houses of Parliament, constituted the Executive Council, with Mr. Thomas Sinclair as chairman.

In the spring of 1894, Gladstone, being then in his eighty-fifth year, decided finally to retire from politics. He therefore resigned, and his place was taken by Lord Rosebery." In June, 1895, the Government were defeated by a majority of 7 in a vote connected with the administration of the army, and immediately resigned. Lord Salisbury now became Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The Cabinet was composed not only of Conservatives, but also of Liberal Unionists, and as it was found that parties

were evenly balanced in the House of Commons, a dissolution became absolutely necessary for the efficient management of public affairs; the new Government therefore announced their intention of appealing to the country. In the election which followed the voting gave the Unionists a majority of 152—made up of 340 Conservatives and 71 Liberal Unionists, as against 177 British Home Rulers, 70 anti-Parnellites, and 12 Parnellites. The general result of the election was to give Lord Salisbury's Government a larger majority than had supported any Ministry since the Parliament of 1833. The new Parliament met on the 12th of August, 1895, and was prorogued on the 5th of September.

Home Rule being shelved for some years, there is little to record of the history of Ulster as a province. As an integral portion of the Empire she took her share in supplying soldiers for the war in South Africa, which lasted from 1899 to 1902. As a truly loyal portion of the Empire she rejoiced when, in 1897, Queen Victoria's second or diamond jubilee took place to commemorate the completion of the great Queen's sixtieth year of reign, and she mourned Her Majesty's death, which took place on the 22nd of January, 1901, believing, as she does, that—

> No braver soul drew bright and queenly breath
> Since England wept upon Elizabeth.

Edward VII, who has been well entitled the Peacemaker, succeeded to the throne while the country was still involved in the Boer war. That war, however, was brought to a close on the 1st of June, 1902. In the same year Lord Salisbury retired from active political life, and Mr. Balfour became Prime Minister, and continued in office until December, 1905, when he resigned, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman formed a ministry. In it were included Sir Robert Reid, Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Crewe, Lord Ripon, Mr. Herbert (now Lord) Gladstone, Sir Edward Grey, the Earl of Elgin,

Lord Morley of Blackburn, Mr. Asquith, Lord Tweedmouth, Mr. John Sinclair, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. John Burns, Earl Carrington, Mr. Birrell, Sir H. Fowler, Viscount Bryce, and Lord Buxton.

The General Election took place in January and February, 1906, and resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Liberal party. That party, including the Labour and Nationalist sections, numbered 377, while the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists only reached 157. During the year the Government exhibited great legislative activity, and passed many useful measures.

During 1907 Parliament sat from February to August, and no fewer than fifty-six Bills were passed. Mr. Birrell's Irish measure was rejected by the House of Lords. Early in 1908 Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman resigned, and a reconstruction of the Cabinet followed. Mr. Asquith became Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury; Mr. Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Joseph M'Kenna, First Lord of the Admiralty; the Earl of Crewe, Secretary for the Colonies; Lord Tweedmouth, President of the Council; Mr. Winston Churchill, President of the Board of Trade; and Mr. W. Runciman, President of the Board of Education. On the 28th of July, after a long debate, the Old-Age Pensions Bill passed the House of Lords and became law. The Act confers a right to an old-age pension on every man or woman who has attained the age of seventy. The applicant must satisfy the authorities that he or she is a British subject, and has been for at least twelve years up to the date of application resident in the United Kingdom, and in receipt of no larger yearly income than £31, 10s.

At a General Election held in January, 1910, the Liberal majority of 336 in the late Parliament was reduced to 115. Of this majority the Nationalists numbered about 75, and the Labour members 40. Soon after the reassembling of Parliament it became apparent that the compact section of

the Irish Nationalists under the leadership of Mr. John Redmond held the balance between the Conservative and Liberal parties. It was evident that until the Conservative majority in the House of Lords could be rendered ineffective, no measure of Home Rule for Ireland was possible. By April the Government decided to adopt the views of the Irish party, and to make a determined attack on the position, constitution, and general character of the House of Lords.

At the beginning of May, Parliament was prorogued for a month. King Edward, who had been at Biarritz, returned at the end of April, and, after a brief illness, died at Buckingham Palace on the 6th of May, 1910, having during his short reign of nine years proved himself to be one of the most capable and most popular sovereigns who had ever ruled over the British Empire.

CHAPTER XXVII

Sir Edward Carson and the Covenant

The Lords' Veto Bill—Mr. Lloyd George's Budget—Mr. Balfour retires—He is succeeded by Mr. Bonar Law—The Home Rule for Ireland Bill introduced by Mr. Asquith—The Anti-Home Rule Campaign in Ulster led by Sir Edward Carson—The Signing of the Covenant on Ulster Day—Mr. Balfour moves the Rejection of the Bill—His Reference to "the Real Assassins"—Sir Edward Carson and Mr. F. E. Smith suggest the Exclusion of Ulster from the Bill—Mr. Winston Churchill's Pronouncement—Great Demonstration in Belfast of Ulster Business Men—The Bill "expires" for a Second Time—Army Officers on the Curragh, when ordered to Belfast, resign—Gun-running Exploit by the Ulster Volunteers.

King Edward died at a time when the country was sharply divided on a grave constitutional controversy—the limitation of the power of the Peers. The history of this question is interesting. Among the larger measures undertaken by the Asquith ministry were the introduction of Old Age Pensions, the settlement of the education controversy, and the Reform of the Licensing Laws. The first of these was, as we have seen, carried into force, the second was abandoned after repeated efforts to satisfy the claims of conflicting religious denominations, the third was vetoed by the Upper House. The action of the House of Lords in this matter lent renewed vigour to the demand of the Liberal party for some curtailment of the power of the Peers. The General Election, which began on the 14th January, 1910, resulted in the return of a Liberal majority of 124, the main issues of the contest being the Lords' Veto Bill, Mr. Lloyd George's Budget, and the policy of Tariff Reform. In order to facilitate matters, a conference was held of the leaders of the various parties



REGULAR BRITISH TROOPS AND ULSTER VOLUNTEERS

A meeting after attending service at the Episcopal church, Omagh

at variance, at which Messrs. Asquith, Lloyd George, Birrell, A. J. Balfour, Austen Chamberlain, and Lords Crewe, Lansdowne, and Cawdor met. The first meeting was held on the 17th of June, 1910, and the last on the 10th of November, there being twenty-one meetings in all, but no agreement was arrived at. Dissolution of Parliament took place on the 28th of November. The General Election which followed resulted in a Ministerial majority of 126. The new Parliament met on the 6th of February, 1911, and on the 21st the Parliament Bill was introduced, having for its object the limitation of the duration of parliaments to five years. In November Mr. Balfour retired, and Mr. Bonar Law became leader of the Conservative party, with Lord Lansdowne leader in the Lords.

The Home Rule for Ireland Bill, introduced by Mr. Asquith on the 11th of April, 1912, got through its various stages in the Lower House, while an anti-Home Rule campaign in Ulster was carried on with vigour under the leadership of Sir Edward Carson. The campaign culminated on Saturday the 28th of September, Ulster Day, in the formation of a Solemn League and the signing of a Covenant, which took the following form:—

"Being convinced in our consciences that Home Rule would be disastrous to the material well-being of Ulster, as well as the whole of Ireland, subversive of our civil and religious freedom, destructive of our citizenship, and perilous to the unity of the Empire, we, whose names are underwritten, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of his Gracious Majesty King George V, humbly relying on the God Whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, hereby pledge ourselves in Solemn Covenant throughout this our time of threatened calamity to stand by one another in defending, for ourselves and our children, our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom, and in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy

to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland; and, in the event of such a Parliament being forced upon us, we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves to refuse to recognize its authority. In sure confidence that God will defend the right, we hereto subscribe our names, and, further, we individually declare that we have not already signed this Covenant."

Five days only separated the conclusion of the session of 1912 and the opening on the 10th of March of the new session of 1913. The Bill providing Home Rule for Ireland was under consideration when the year opened. On the 1st of January Sir Edward Carson moved an amendment to exclude the four north-eastern counties of Ulster from the provisions of the Bill, but stated in doing so that, even if the amendment were carried, the Bill as a whole would still be opposed root and branch. Mr. Bonar Law declared that north-eastern Ulster would prefer to be governed by a foreign country than by a Nationalist Parliament in Dublin; but if the Bill were submitted to a General Election, and approved by the electors, he and his party would not be prepared to encourage Ulster to resist it by force. The amendment was rejected by 294 votes to 197. On the 16th of January the third reading of the Bill was carried by 367 to 257 votes, the result being received by the House with uproarious cheering.

The rejection of the Bill was moved on this occasion by Mr. Balfour, who declared that "if blood is spilt, I can say confidently that the real assassins will be those who will never have the courage to face the situation". Mr. Asquith, in reply, said the Government would be glad to meet any claim of the north-eastern counties which were founded on justice, or even apprehension, if it could be met without doing injustice to Ireland as a whole. But, he added, a minority was not entitled to thwart and defeat the demands of the great majority of their countrymen. Mr. Bonar Law, winding up

the debate, said the Unionists of Ulster would resist the present Bill, and he contended they would be supported by the overwhelming majority of the people of England and Scotland. On the 30th of January the Lords rejected the Bill on second reading by 326 to 69.

In May, 1913, Sir Edward Carson reopened his campaign in Ulster and declared: "Our right to remain citizens of the Imperial Parliament is a right that is a vital one, and in the words of President Lincoln, it justifies and gives us a moral right to do anything that is necessary, even to the use of force". In October Sir Edward Carson and Mr. F. E. Smith both announced that a solution of the problem might be found by excluding Ulster from the Bill, or at any rate "that portion which is homogeneous in its views". A little later, in a speech made at Dundee, Mr. Winston Churchill declared that the Government, relying on the mandate of the two General Elections in 1910, intended to pass the Act "in the lifetime of the present Parliament", and added: "It is obvious that the claim of north-east Ulster for special consideration for itself is a very different claim from the claim to bar and defeat Home Rule and to block the path of the whole of the rest of Ireland; and it is a claim which, if put forward with sincerity, not as a mere wrecking measure, cannot be ignored or pushed aside without full consideration by any Government dependent on the present House of Commons. There was", he said, "only one thing to compensate the Irish Parliament for the grievous loss to its efficiency and strength which would result from even a temporary absence of the representatives of north-east Ulster—the binding in honour of both political parties to carry the settlement through and bring it in the course of years to final and complete success."

This offer gave much satisfaction to Ulster Unionists, but the Unionists of the south and west of Ireland protested against their opposition to the Bill being disregarded. Mr.

John Redmond, on the other hand, maintained that the proposal of exclusion was "quite impracticable and unworkable"; but while he repeated his order of "full steam ahead with Home Rule", he stated that he was willing to consider any further suggestions.

Many speeches were made throughout the country on the subject. Mr. Asquith, at Ladybank, on the 25th of October, said that the Government were quite ready to entertain the suggestion of some special treatment of Ulster if not inconsistent with the general principle of the Bill, but they had been met with the assertion that no such provision would reconcile the hostility to the Bill as a whole. Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Balfour demanded a general election, "which will at least prevent civil war". Mr. Austen Chamberlain said any settlement arrived at "must be one which respects the scruples and guards the liberties of Ulstermen as absolutely as our own". On November the 4th a remarkable demonstration of the business men of Ulster took place at Belfast to protest against the Home Rule Bill. It was stated that the capital represented aggregated about £145,000,000. Sir Edward Carson, in addressing the meeting, said: "The fact that the business community is prepared to take risks will be a guarantee that we will conduct the fight, if it is forced upon us, in a manner that is most responsible". Resolutions were passed approving of "the various measures taken for the defence of our liberties, including the organization of the Volunteer force", and expressing the solemn resolution of those present to withhold the payment of all taxes so long as any attempt to put into operation the provisions of the Home Rule Bill was persevered with. Later, Sir Edward Carson said: "Things have gone so far, and we have been driven to such a course, that we can never accept any arrangement which is inconsistent with the Covenant we were driven to enter into". Mr. Bonar Law, speaking at Norwich on the 13th of November, said: "If the Govern-

ment attempt to coerce Ulster before they have received the sanction of the people, we shall support Ulster in her resistance".

In the meantime, with the other measures to which the Parliament Act was applied, the Home Rule Bill was presented and read a first time in the House of Commons on the 7th of May. On the 9th of June, moving the second reading, the Prime Minister said the Bill represented the considered judgment of the House of Commons, and added that he would welcome any suggestions towards strengthening any of the safeguards which might be inadequate. Mr. Balfour moved the rejection, declaring his belief that the country was on the verge of a great national tragedy. Sir Edward Carson maintained that Ulster had behind her, in her armed resistance, the whole force of the Unionist party, while Mr. Redmond urged that the passing into law of the Bill would mean the opening of a new era of Irish content and Imperial unity. The motion for rejection was defeated by 368 to 270, and the Bill was read a second time. The third reading was agreed to on the 7th of July without a division, after the defeat by 352 against 243 of a motion brought forward by Mr. Bonar Law.

On the 14th of July the House of Lords commenced a two days' discussion on the second reading, which was moved by Lord Crewe. In reply, Lord Lansdowne moved that the House declined to proceed with the consideration of the Bill until it had been submitted to the judgment of the country. Lord Lansdowne's motion was carried by 302 to 64, and the Bill "expired" for the second time within a few months.

The King's speech of the 10th of February, 1914, expressed regret that "the efforts which have been made to arrive at a solution by agreement of the problems connected with the Government of Ireland have, so far, not succeeded". The situation became critical on the subject. Mr. Walter Long moved a resolution calling for a General Election before

any further step was taken with a Home Rule measure. In the Upper House this was carried by a majority of 188, Earl Roberts declaring that it was unthinkable that the British Army should be called upon to fight against the Ulster Volunteers; which eventuality, he said, would shake the Army to its foundations. In the Commons Mr. Austen Chamberlain said that the exclusion of Ulster was the only possible basis of peace. Sir Edward Carson declared that if the Government sought to compel the people of Ulster to go to a Dublin Parliament he would go on with those people to the end in their policy of resistance. On the other side, Mr. John Redmond said he shared to the full the anxiety expressed in the King's Speech for a settlement. The resolution was defeated on the 11th by a majority of 78.

The Home Rule Bill was introduced for the third time into the House of Commons on the 9th of March, but on the 13th Mr. Asquith made an offer to secure a settlement by consent of an exclusion of Ulster for a period of six years, after a poll by counties of those counties of Ulster which so decided. The boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry were to be regarded as counties for this purpose. Mr. Bonar Law at once declared that if the proposal represented the Government's last word, he could not see how it was possible to accept it. Mr. Redmond said the Prime Minister had gone to the extremest limits of concession, but if the proposals were frankly accepted by the Unionists as a basis of agreement and peace the Nationalists were prepared to accept them in the same spirit. Mr. William O'Brien protested against Ireland being reduced to a thing of shreds and patches; and Sir Edward Carson, while admitting that something had been gained by the admission of the principle of exclusion, declared that "we do not want a sentence of death with a stay of execution for six years". If the Government took the time limit away he would go to Ulster and call a convention to consider the proposals; but if the time limit



Photo. London News Agency

THE PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ULSTER

Front row (left to right): Mr. W. Moore, M.P.; Lord Dunleath; Lord Londonderry; Sir Edward Carson, K.C., M.P.; Duke of Abercorn; Sir J. B. Lonsdale, M.P. In the second row may be seen: Mr. C. C. Craig, M.P.; Mr. C. Featherstonhaugh, M.P.; Mr. H. T. Barrie, M.P.; Capt. J. Craig, M.P.; Gen. Sir George Richardson; Mr. W. J. Macgeagh MacCaw, M.P.; Mr. P. Kerr-Smiley, M.P.; Col. Hacket-Pain; Capt. the Hon. Arthur O'Neill, M.P., &c.

were not removed — Ulster was ready for any emergency! A vote of censure on the Government was rejected by a majority of 93.

The situation became very serious. On the 20th of March it was announced that a grave crisis had arisen in connection with the troops in Ireland; that in consequence of orders to move troops into Ulster, and the sending of a warship to Belfast, a number of army officers at the Curragh had tendered their resignations. The Prime Minister explained that the instructions given to General Sir A. Paget, commanding in Ireland, were only that it might be his duty to go to the assistance of the civil authorities in Ulster. There had, however, been an "honest misunderstanding".

On the 24th of March it became known that Colonel Seely (Minister of War), Sir John French (Inspector-General), and Sir J. S. Ewart (Quartermaster-General) had initialled a memorandum given to Brigadier-General H. P. Gough, commanding the cavalry on the Curragh, pointing out that it was the duty of all soldiers to obey lawful commands, and concluding: "But they (the Cabinet) have no intention whatever of taking advantage of this right to crush political opposition to the policy or principles of the Home Rule Bill". The publication of this last clause caused a political sensation. On the 25th Colonel Seely apologized in the House of Commons for having amplified the memorandum to General Gough, after the text had been approved of by the Cabinet, and tendered his resignation. A White Paper was issued, showing that on the 14th of March the War Office had warned General Sir Arthur Paget, commanding in Ireland, to ensure protection to stores in Ulster, and that General Paget reported on the 20th that General Gough and 57 officers of the 3rd Cavalry Brigade preferred dismissal from the Army to going north. These officers were suspended, but afterwards reinstated, the King having expressed approval of such a course.

The Home Rule Bill came up for second reading on the 6th of April, and was carried by 356 to 276 votes. On the 12th of May Mr. Asquith said if a settlement on Ulster were come to it must take the form of an Amending Bill. Before this pronouncement, however, much excitement had been caused by a gun-running exploit of the Ulster Volunteers on the 24th of April. The Provisional Government in Ulster having purchased in Germany some "50,000 of the most modern magazine rifles and 3,000,000 rounds of ammunition", had them sent by lighter to await the arrival of the *Fanny* off the southern coast of Norway, to which the 300 tons of cargo were transferred. The papers of the *Fanny* were taken by suspicious officials of the Danish Government, but she sailed without them. She lay off the coast of Donegal for days, refusing to be interviewed by the coastguards, the time being employed to conceal her real name with a canvas screen, on which was painted the significant word "Mountjoy" (the name of the vessel that broke the boom and relieved Londonderry in 1689), and, while the attention of the authorities was directed to Belfast, she stole into Larne harbour, and her cargo was landed and distributed by motor-cars all over Ulster in a single night.

ULSTER IN THE WAR

ULSTER IN THE WAR

ULSTER REGIMENTS

The record of Ulster in the war is one of which her people have no reason to feel ashamed, and it will compare favourably with that of any other part of the Empire. Both in the actual fighting services and in work at home, the people of Ulster threw themselves heart and soul into the struggle against Germany.

All that was done by the Ulster troops has not been generally recognized, owing to one rather curious fact, that not a single battalion which is recruited in Ulster bears the name of the province. It is quite different with regard to other parts of Ireland. Leinster's two regiments are known as the Leinster Fusiliers and the Dublin Fusiliers. Munster, beside the Royal Irish Regiment, has its Munster Fusiliers. Connaught's solitary regiment is known as the Connaught Rangers. On the other hand, the three famous Ulster regiments, all of them among the most distinguished in the army, are known as the Royal Irish Rifles, Royal Irish Fusiliers, and Inniskilling Fusiliers; where much more appropriate names would be the Royal Ulster Rifles, and the Royal Ulster Fusiliers. Thus it often happened that when war correspondents or commanding officers reported acts of gallantry, as they often did, by the "Irish Rifles" or "Irish Fusiliers", no one outside Ireland understood that these were in fact Ulster battalions. For the same reason, a great many people imagine that Ulster's total contribution of fighting men was comprised in the famous 36th (Ulster) Division, although in addition there were actually six battalions of the regular army from Ulster, as well as five Ulster battalions in the 10th (Irish) Division and five more in the 16th (Irish) Division.

Taking the various regiments and battalions, it may be mentioned that there are eight regiments in the regular army drawn from Ireland, of which three come from Ulster and five from the other provinces. Each had two battalions, so that Ulster contributed six battalions, and the rest of Ireland ten battalions.

Of the Ulster regiments, the Royal Irish Rifles, with depot at Belfast, are recruited from Belfast, County Antrim, and County Down. The Royal Irish Fusiliers, with depot at Armagh, are recruited from Armagh, Cavan, and Monaghan; and the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, with depot at Omagh, are recruited from Derry, Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Donegal.

When the war broke out the Royal Irish Rifles, in addition to the two regular battalions, had three reserve battalions—the 3rd, 4th, and 5th. The

Royal Irish Fusiliers had two reserve battalions—the 3rd and 4th; and the Inniskilling Fusiliers had two—the 3rd and 4th. When the new army, composed of what were called "service battalions", was formed, many additional battalions of these regiments were raised. The Royal Irish Rifles gave the 6th (service) Battalion to the 10th (Irish) Division, and the 7th to the 16th (Irish) Division; while it sent to the 36th (Ulster) Division battalions numbered 8 to 16 inclusive. In addition, three new reserve battalions for the Ulster Division were raised, the 17th, 18th, and 19th; while ultimately there was also formed the 20th (garrison) Battalion, though not until a later period of the war.

The Royal Irish Fusiliers sent the 5th and 6th (service) Battalions to the 10th (Irish) Division; the 7th and 8th to the 16th (Irish) Division; and the 9th and 10th to the 36th (Ulster) Division. Subsequently another service battalion, the 11th, was raised, while three reserve battalions, the 12th, 13th, and 14th, were formed as reserves for the 36th (Ulster) Division.

The Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers sent the 5th and 6th (service) Battalions to the 10th (Irish) Division; the 7th and 8th to the 16th (Irish) Division; and the 9th, 10th, and 11th to the 36th (Ulster) Division. The 12th (reserve) Battalion was also raised for the 36th (Ulster) Division, and at a later period of the war an additional Service Battalion, the 13th, was also raised.

It may be of interest to point out that by the end of 1914 Ulster had actually contributed 42 battalions out of 82 raised in Ireland. In addition there was the North Irish Horse, whose first squadron went to France at the beginning of the war, and from whom other squadrons were subsequently sent out before the autumn of 1916, when a large section of the cavalry was dismounted and turned into infantry, and the men from the North Irish Horse became attached to the 9th Royal Irish Fusiliers. There were also two depots of the Royal Artillery near Belfast, which, during the war, trained and sent out many thousands of valuable recruits. Nor does this exhaust the records of Ulster's fighting services. Inspired by old family traditions, many Ulstermen chose to enlist in Scottish battalions. For example, in the 6th Black Watch, which formed part of the famous 51st (Highland) Division, there was a whole company of Ulstermen, who for some years before the war belonged to the battalion and crossed every year to Scotland for training. Further, several hundred men joined the 4th Seaforth Highlanders (who for some time had a recruiting office in Belfast), and also fought with the 51st Division, while a considerable number of others joined the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. In the London Irish there were many Ulstermen, and also in the Church Lads' battalion of the King's Royal Rifles, while considerable numbers were to be found in the Bantam battalions, and the Royal Scots, Cheshires, and Sherwood Foresters. Altogether out of 145,000 voluntary recruits from Ireland, Ulster contributed, in round numbers, 75,000. Besides the Irish recruits, a very large number of men born in Ulster were to be found in the Dominion troops, especially among the Canadians, with whom two Ulstermen won the V.C.

It is not possible in a brief space to describe fully the war services of the various Ulster battalions. It may be most convenient to record first the work

of the regulars who went on service at the outbreak of war.

"THE OLD CONTEMPTIBLES"

1st BATTALION, ROYAL IRISH RIFLES

The 1st Battalion of the Royal Irish Rifles had been for over seventeen years serving in India, and did not reach France until the beginning of November, 1914, and so just missed the first terrible battle of Ypres. It saw no heavy fighting before the following spring, its first big engagement being the desperate battle of Neuve Chapelle on 10th March, 1915. In the course of this magnificent attack it went right through two lines of German trenches and seized the village of Neuve Chapelle itself, which it held for nearly a fortnight against many furious German attacks, losing during the period 9 officers killed, 9 wounded, and over 400 N.C.O.'s and men killed and wounded. Owing probably to the death of Colonel Laurie, the commanding officer, little official notice was taken in army records of this fine feat, but to show the feeling in the army it may be mentioned that when the battalion was relieved and was on its way back to billets, other troops turned out to cheer it as it passed, in appreciation of its gallantry. Two months later the battalion was again in the thick of the fight, heading a determined attack at Fromelles, in which once more it gained every objective, losing very heavily in the process. Its new commanding officer, Colonel Baker, was among the killed. The battle of Loos was its next big fight. On this occasion it was in the front line, acting in support, and lost about 100 officers and men. In March, 1916, the battalion went south to take over a portion of the line at La Boiselle. Here it successfully beat off a fierce German raid at a cost of 90 killed, wounded, and missing. To show the German opinion of the battalion, a German official order, captured shortly after this engagement, may be quoted: "The regiment of the Royal Irish Rifles created a most favourable impression both by their physique and mode of repelling an attack". In the opening of the great Somme battle of 1st July, 1916, the battalion took an active part, attacking and capturing Ovillers, but sustained exceedingly heavy losses amounting to 18 officers, amongst whom were the commanding officer, Colonel Macnamara, and the Adjutant, with 440 other ranks. Further fighting went on at intervals until 23rd October, when in another fiercely-contested battle the battalion was reduced in numbers to less than 300 men. The rest of the winter and the early part of 1917 was spent in the usual routine of resting in billets or holding the line. 31st July found the battalion once more in the thick of heavy fighting, this time in front of Ypres, where the attack on the ridges was beginning. Here again its casualties were serious, amounting to 16 officers and 350 other ranks, and once more the commanding officer, now Colonel A. D. Reid, was amongst the killed. In the desperate fighting of 16th August the battalion again sustained extremely heavy losses, all the officers but one, including Lieutenant-Colonel M'Carthy O'Leary, being killed and wounded, as well as 230 N.C.O.'s and men. Up till the time when the fierce fighting for Passchendaele Ridge culminated in the attack of 1st December, the battalion continued to share the honour and the sacrifices of this long-

drawn battle. For its work during this time it was praised not only by divisional and corps commanders but by the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Douglas Haig, himself. At the end of the year, on the reorganization of the army, the battalion was incorporated with the 36th (Ulster) Division, in the account of which the remainder of its fighting record will be described.

2nd BATTALION, ROYAL IRISH RIFLES

The 2nd Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles, went to the front at the opening of the war in August, 1914, forming part of the 7th Brigade of the 3rd Division. It took part in the first advance and subsequent retreat from Mons, seeing a good deal of heavy fighting, and afterwards in October at Neuve Chapelle was conspicuous in repelling a fierce attack by the Germans. General Smith-Dorrien, then commanding the army corps, in an Army Order stated: "During an attack on the 7th Infantry Brigade the enemy came to close quarters with the Royal Irish Rifles, who repulsed them with great gallantry with the bayonet. The commander wishes to compliment the regiment on its splendid feat, and directs that all battalions shall be informed of the circumstance and of his high appreciation of the gallantry displayed."

During the rest of the winter and most of the following spring and summer the battalion was alternately holding portions of the line and in billets. At the battle of Loos it played a very gallant part, not only piercing the German lines, but holding the position for twenty-four hours until obliged to retire because the troops on both sides had not been able to advance so far.

Addressing the battalion after its removal to another portion of the line, the Divisional Commander said: "You have a splendid fighting record throughout the campaign, being complimented by Sir John French and General Smith-Dorrien in corps orders. The fighting in this part of the line during the last few months has been very severe, and this battalion has made history. When the history of the campaign has been written the name of the 2nd Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles, will be written in large print. . . . Your Brigadier was ordered to hold the Germans in the Ypres salient while the other corps made the attack farther south. You attacked the strongest position in the enemy's line. . . . Your clever demonstration in front of this part of the line brought all the enemy's reserves to this point, thereby facilitating the offensive towards Loos. In fact the enemy was prepared to attack, but was half an hour too late."

During the battle of the Somme the battalion served in various parts of the line, and subsequently, on the Messines-Ypres front, it also saw some very heavy fighting between June and September, 1917. It was subsequently transferred to the Third Army and attached to the 36th (Ulster) Division, to whose record its further history belongs.

Altogether the battalion lost more than 100 officers and 2000 other ranks killed and wounded, while the honours gained amounted to over 400.

1st BATTALION, ROYAL IRISH FUSILIERS

The 1st Battalion, Royal Irish Fusiliers, famous as "the Faugh-a-Ballaghs", went to France at the opening of the war, and

took part in the retreat from Mons, especially in the heavy fighting at Le Cateau-Cambrai, where it lost 200 officers and other ranks.

After the Marne the battalion was prominent in pursuit of the Germans and in the fighting on the Aisne, losing 8 officers and about 150 men. When the pursuit was stopped on the Aisne, the battalion was transferred north and took part in the heavy fighting at Armentières, in the capture of which it had a leading rôle. During the stay of the battalion in this district Private Robert Morrow, of Dungannon, Co. Tyrone, who was subsequently killed, won the V.C. by carrying six wounded men in succession into safety, under heavy fire. The 10th Brigade, of which this battalion formed part, was in the thick of the fighting in the second battle of Ypres, in April, 1915, and lost no less than 10 officers and 500 other ranks, receiving the personal thanks of Field-Marshal Sir John French for its gallant resistance.

Again in May of the same year the battalion suffered severely in one of the early German gas attacks, and was sent into billets for a rest, after which it was moved to the Somme. During the winter of 1915 the battalion was engaged holding the line in comparative quiet, but made a name for itself by daring raids on the enemy's trenches, notably on 16th April, 1916, when the battalion was specially thanked by the army corps commander and mentioned in dispatches by the Commander-in-Chief.

The Fusiliers, in support of the Seaforth Highlanders, fought through the Somme battle on 1st July, 1916, and obtained the warmest praise of Lieutenant-General Sir A. Hunter-Weston, who personally visited the battalion to thank the men for what they had done, and in addressing them said:

"Officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the 1st Battalion, Royal Irish Fusiliers, it is impossible for me to express fully my admiration for the splendid courage, determination, and discipline displayed by you all. . . . I salute each officer, non-commissioned officer, and man of the battalion as comrades-in-arms, and am proud to have such a band of heroes in the corps under my command."

On 12th October, 1916, the battalion was again heavily engaged in the Le Transloy sector, and in a fierce three-hours' fight lost no less than 14 officers and 300 other ranks. Its numbers were now reduced to 8 officers and 250 men, so it was withdrawn for some months to rest and to train new drafts.

On 1st April, 1917, in the battle of Arras, the battalion again suffered severely, losing 7 officers and 360 other ranks, but carrying the German positions for a depth of seven miles. Shortly afterwards it was again prominent in a very gallant attack on a German position which it succeeded in carrying, although at a loss of 9 officers and 230 men. In August, 1917, the Fusiliers were transferred to the 36th (Ulster) Division, with whom the rest of their fighting was done, as will afterwards be described.

2nd BATTALION, ROYAL IRISH FUSILIERS

When war broke out the 2nd Battalion, Royal Irish Fusiliers, was in India, and reached France only at the beginning of 1915. Most of its early work consisted in holding various positions near St. Eloi. It remained there until September, 1915, and was then transferred to

Salonika, where it took part in the operations under the French General Sarrail, and saw hard service. Subsequently the battalion joined the 10th (Irish) Division, its service with which will be dealt with in due course.

1st BATTALION, ROYAL INNISKILLING FUSILIERS

The 1st Battalion, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, well known in earlier days as the 27th Foot, was in India at the outbreak of war, and did not reach England till 10th January, 1915. It was then attached to the famous 29th Division and sent to Gallipoli, where it saw some desperate fighting, and where Captain G. R. O'Sullivan and Sergeant Somers, afterwards killed, won the V.C. After the evacuation of Gallipoli the battalion was sent to Egypt with the 29th Division. There it had a period of rest before being transferred to France, where it arrived in March, 1916. In the Somme fighting, commencing 1st July, the Fusiliers played a prominent part. By a curious coincidence, the battalion was on the immediate left of the 36th (Ulster) Division, and more curious still, the 2nd Inniskillings were on the right of the Ulster Division at the opening of the battle. The 1st Inniskillings attacked Beaucourt and Beaumont Hamel, which had been strongly fortified by the Germans, and although the battalion gained most of its objectives, so fierce was the German fire that it was subsequently forced to withdraw with very heavy losses, including that of Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. Pierce, the gallant commanding officer. Lieutenant-General Sir A. Hunter-Weston in a message to the battalion said: "Though we did not do all that we hoped to do, you have more than pulled your weight. It was a magnificent display of courage, worthy of the best traditions of the British race."

The next action of the battalion, still in the 29th Division, was a brilliant attack on the German line at Le Transloy, in January, 1917, in which it broke the German front for a distance of two-thirds of a mile, capturing 200 prisoners and earning high praise from the divisional general.

In the spring of 1917, the battalion was moved northwards and took part in the famous attack on Vimy Ridge, near Arras, on 23rd April, when by sheer dogged fighting a portion of the German line was broken. So severely had the battalion suffered that it was withdrawn for a lengthy rest and the training of new drafts. In the autumn of 1917 it took part in the very heavy fighting round Cambrai. During the great German counter-attacks, the splendid defence of Masnières by the 29th Division was one of the great feats of the war; and Sir Douglas Haig sent a special message to the commanding officer of the division, which included the Inniskillings, for its gallant fighting.

On the reorganization of the army shortly after this battle, the battalion was transferred to the 36th (Ulster) Division, where, on 19th January, 1918, it met its own 2nd Battalion for the first time during the war. The subsequent service of the battalion will be told in the history of the 36th (Ulster) Division.

2nd BATTALION, ROYAL INNISKILLING FUSILIERS

The 2nd Battalion, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, went to France in the first week of the war, arriving just in time to take

part in the retreat from Mons, where it was engaged in some very heavy fighting near Le Cateau, and subsequently in the battle of the Marne and the advance to the Aisne.

During the remainder of the first winter the battalion was engaged in fighting at various parts of the line, never remaining long in any one place, but always showing its characteristic bravery. This battalion had the honour of possessing the first N.C.O. to receive a commission for distinguished services in the field, namely Sergeant H. H. Kendrick, who was given a commission, and within two years had risen to be Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding a battalion of the Suffolk regiment.

After this first winter in the trenches the battalion shared in some stiff fighting near Festubert on 15th May, 1915, when it formed portion of the 5th Brigade in the 2nd Division. In spite of obstacles the battalion carried all the objectives it had been told to capture, and held on grimly in spite of a tremendous German bombardment followed by massed attacks. No assaults of the enemy could force the men to yield an inch of ground. They held their positions until relieved by reinforcements, but only a handful was left. Of 1000 who went into action, no less than 20 officers and 700 men were killed and wounded. Sir Douglas Haig, the Commander-in-Chief, himself sent, through his staff-officer, the following special message to the commanding officer of the battalion, Colonel Wylie: "General Sir Douglas Haig, K.C.B., K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., A.D.C., General Commanding First Army, has personally desired me to thank all ranks of the 5th Infantry Brigade for their great gallantry and hard work during the recent operations, which, although they did not result in any great gain of country, had other far-reaching effects and achieved important results".

General Sir Charles Munroe, commanding the army corps, also issued a general order to the effect that he "wished to congratulate all ranks of the battalion on their fine performance on the night of the 15th–16th May. He has known the battalion for a long time, and has every confidence that they will do in the future as they have done in the past."

For the rest of the summer of 1915 the battalion was in rest billets, engaged in training the new drafts, and in the spring of 1916 it was transferred to the 32nd Division, sharing in the Somme battle of 1st July, when, as formerly mentioned, it fought to the immediate right of the 36th (Ulster) Division. In the series of fights which lasted for a number of weeks the battalion lost very heavily, and in August, 1916, on the second anniversary of its arriving in France, only one officer was left who was serving at the outbreak of war.

During 1917 the battalion was engaged in desultory fighting, and in 1918 it was transferred to the 36th (Ulster) Division, with whom its subsequent history will be told.

THE 36th (ULSTER) DIVISION

A WONDERFUL RECORD

So far we have been dealing solely with the battalions of the regular army drawn from Ulster. As in every other case these troops were not brigaded on any territorial basis, but simply according to the districts in which they were serving at the outbreak of war, or as arranged by

the War Office under the war mobilization scheme.

In Ireland, as in Great Britain, the new service battalions were on the other hand raised and grouped on a strictly territorial basis, and served in special new divisions of their own until the army reorganization scheme of 1918, when, as already mentioned, the regular battalions and the service battalions from Ulster were formed into divisions together.

On 4th August, 1914, Great Britain formally entered the war, and the next day the secretary of the Ulster Unionist Council received a telegram from Sir Edward Carson, as follows: "All officers, non-commissioned officers, and men who are enrolled in the Ulster Volunteer Force, and who are liable to be called out by His Majesty for service in the present crisis, are requested to answer immediately His Majesty's call, as our first duty as loyal subjects is to the King".

On the day on which Sir Edward Carson's request was received, General Sir George Richardson, K.C.B., Commander of the Ulster Volunteer Force, issued an instruction to all the County Committees and Regimental Commanders of the Force to take an immediate census of their men, and report how many were ready, first, to enlist for active service; secondly, to serve in Home Defence Corps anywhere in the United Kingdom; and thirdly, how many could give a certain time for Home Defence work in Ulster. The response to this request was remarkable, and within ten days, when a large number of reports had been received at the Unionist head-quarters in Belfast, Sir Edward Carson was able to assure Lord Kitchener that more than ten thousand men were already certain, and that additional reports were coming in every day.

As so many men were then available, the War Office decided that the simplest and best plan would be to create a separate division for the Ulster Volunteers, and as far as possible allow their own officers who were competent, and had already received a military training, to command them, the War Office of course retaining the right to appoint the divisional staff, commanding officers, and the senior officers of the battalions. It should, of course, be remembered that a large number of the men who had been acting as officers for the previous two years in the Ulster Volunteers had served in the army, and many of them were actually on the reserve of officers, while others were young men from the Public Schools, who had already passed through the Officers' Training Corps; also among the rank and file of the Volunteers were a large number of men who had either retired from the army after a number of years' service or were still in the reserve, and the latter of course joined up automatically with the regular army when mobilized.

On 3rd September, 1914, Sir Edward Carson, having completed the arrangements with the War Office for the new division, crossed to Belfast and made a stirring appeal to a crowded meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council and the heads of the Ulster Volunteer Force from various parts of Ulster, in which he said:

"What have we to do and what is the course we have to pursue? It is to assist with our last man in the destruction of the tyrant who has brought this about. . . . And under these circumstances—knowing that the very basis of our political faith is our belief in the greatness of the United Kingdom and of the Empire—to our Volunteers I say without hesitation:

'Go and help to save your country. Go and help to save your country and to save your empire; go and win honour for Ulster and for Ireland!' To every man that goes, or has gone—and not to them only, but to every Irishman—I say, from the bottom of our hearts, 'God bless you, and bring you home safe and victorious'."

Following upon Sir Edward Carson's speech the whole machinery of the Ulster Unionist Party and the Ulster Volunteer Force was put into motion. The Unionist head-quarters known as the "Old Town Hall", which was formerly the "City Hall", Belfast, was practically handed over to the military authorities as recruiting offices, and here for the next few weeks there was a continuous stream of recruits, at the rate of about 600 a day, to join the various battalions of the Ulster Volunteer Force.

The recruiting was conducted most systematically. Separate days were set aside for the men of the various districts of the city. They assembled at their own Volunteer head-quarters, formed themselves into military formation, and marched in a body through the city to the recruiting office, each march being witnessed by enthusiastic crowds of the citizens. Sir Edward Carson, accompanied by Captain Craig, M.P., now Lieutenant-Colonel Sir James Craig, marched at the head of several of these detachments to show his appreciation of the magnificent response to his appeal.

Branch recruiting offices were also established at the Volunteer head-quarters in the various counties and districts, and here also the enrolling and medical examinations were carried on in a systematic fashion, so that by the middle of September about 12,000 men had been enrolled, enough to supply the infantry contingent of a division, and accordingly the new division was now formally entered on the Army Roll as the 36th (Ulster) Division, which afterwards became one of the most famous divisions in the army.

Mr. Asquith was certainly an unprejudiced authority, with no special bias in favour of the Ulster Volunteers, and he said in the House of Commons on 16th September, 1914:

"He understood that during the past few weeks Sir E. Carson had taken steps to encourage and stimulate the men forming part of his organization to respond to the call of the King and enlist with the colours, and take part in the common defence of the Empire. He certainly recognized the patriotism and public spirit which had been shown by the Ulster Volunteers, and he had the most sanguine confidence that they would be found not only among the most loyal but amongst the most efficient defenders of the honour of the Empire."

THE EQUIPMENT OF THE 36th DIVISION

The method of the clothing and equipment of the Ulster Division was unique. As is well known, owing to the great rush of recruits in the early weeks of the war, it was impossible to find uniforms and equipment for many of the new divisions as they went to their various training camps. Thousands of men were obliged to drill and work for some time in their ordinary civilian garments, which soon became almost unwearable; while thousands of others had only a rather shabby makeshift blue uniform, which was little improvement on the civilian dress. That there would be this difficulty was

realized at the outset by some prominent Belfast business men connected with the Ulster Volunteer head-quarters, and they accordingly took measures to have the 36th Division properly uniformed and equipped from the first. The War Office was informed that if permission were given, these Belfast business men would undertake to procure all the necessary uniform and equipment, under the directions and supervision, of course, of the military authorities—all accounts and book-keeping to be periodically examined by the official War Office auditors. This offer was accepted, and within three days a complete clothing and equipment department was established in a large empty warehouse close to the recruiting office in the old Town Hall, and a staff of forty assistants, clerks, typists, book-keepers, &c., was installed. There were also competent tailors, boot-makers, and others, able to alter uniforms or boots which were in any way defective or ill-fitting. Through their large business connections in Great Britain, the committee in charge of this department were able to buy and have made up into uniforms great consignments of cloth, as well as puttees, boots, underclothing, and every other part of the equipment necessary for the recruits; all of which were made to the regulation pattern supplied by the War Office, and had to pass the War Office requirements.

The system for supplying the recruits was extremely simple and worked with the greatest success. As soon as a volunteer had been medically examined, passed, and formally enlisted, he was taken to the outfitting department, less than 100 yards away, where he was immediately fitted with uniform, boots, and underclothes, and supplied with belt, haversack, house-wife, and all the equipment which a recruit should receive. He then departed in a company or section to join the camp where his battalion was to be trained. Meanwhile his civilian clothing, boots, and other possessions were dispatched to any address he desired. As recruiting stations were opened in various parts of Ulster, the Clothing and Equipment Department also opened branches where the same procedure was carried out, and as soon as the various camps had been arranged and occupied, branches of the outfitting department were established at each camp, under the charge of competent men. The result of all these arrangements was that while recruits in the United Kingdom had to wait weeks and even months for their uniform, every Ulster Volunteer received his complete uniform and equipment on the day he enlisted, and the whole division was completely uniformed and equipped by the beginning of October. The effect upon a recruit of receiving his uniform and equipment immediately on enlistment can be easily understood. It made him feel that he was actually a soldier, and thus increased his self-respect, and even his very carriage and appearance improved. There was at once amongst the men of the 36th Division an *ésprit de corps* which it took months to produce in many other divisions. Nor was this the only service that the Equipment Committee did for the War Office. By their practical business knowledge and experience of buying in the best markets, and by the payment of prompt cash, advanced from the Volunteer funds, they were able to purchase to such advantage that the War Office auditors were astonished and delighted, and reported to London in terms of the highest commendation.

Ultimately it turned out that the Ulster Division was not only the first to be equipped in the new armies, but that the cost of its uniform and equipment was many thousands of pounds less than that of any other division.

As Commander of the new division the War Office appointed Major-General Powell, C.B., an officer who had seen a good deal of service in India, with Lieutenant-Colonel Craig, M.P., as his Chief-of-Staff, and Divisional Head-quarters were established in a convenient building in Belfast.

The principle was adopted of enrolling recruits in battalions, each representing a county or counties, while the city of Belfast alone contributed five battalions, one each from the north, south, east, and west—the four Parliamentary Divisions—and another from an organization known as the Young Citizen Volunteers. This was a body composed largely of young business men, which had been formed a few years before to act on ceremonial occasions as Guard of Honour to the Lord Mayor or to any distinguished visitor, such as the Lord-Lieutenant. In general type it closely resembled units of the standing of the London Scottish or the Artists' Rifles; and a very large number of its members subsequently obtained commissions.

As recruits were still coming in the War Office made repeated requests for the establishment of other Divisional Units, every one of which was more than fulfilled by the Division. It was able to enlist and train its own Army Service Corps, in which a large number of the younger Ulster medical men served with distinction. A complete body of Divisional Engineers was raised among the skilled mechanics in the shipyards and engineering works of Ulster; similarly a Divisional Signalling Corps was formed from the signallers of the Volunteers, a remarkably efficient and competent body of men. Then came a complete Divisional Train of the Army Service Corps, a complete Veterinary Section, a Divisional Cyclist Corps, and a special Cavalry Unit, known as the Service Squadron of the Inniskilling Dragoons. The last named was very similar in type to the North Irish Horse. The officers were nearly all men who had served in the army, while the men were mainly sons of farmers, who had been accustomed to riding and to the handling of horses all their lives, and many of them were prominent hunting men. A Pioneer Battalion was also raised, known as the 16th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles, composed mainly of Volunteers from County Down.

THE ROLL OF THE DIVISION

As finally constituted, the various Divisional Units were as follows:—

107th Brigade

(Brigadier-General C. H. H. Couchman, C.B.)

8th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles (East Belfast Volunteers).

9th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles (West Belfast Volunteers).

10th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles (South Belfast Volunteers).

15th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles (North Belfast Volunteers).

108th Brigade

(Brigadier-General G. Hacket Pain, C.B.)

11th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles (South Antrim Volunteers).

12th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles (Central Antrim Volunteers).
13th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles (1st County Down Volunteers).
9th Battalion, Royal Irish Fusiliers (Armagh, Monaghan, and Cavan Volunteers).

109th Brigade

(Brigadier-General T. E. Hickman, C.B., D.S.O.)

9th Battalion, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (Tyrone Volunteers).
10th Battalion, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (Derry Volunteers).
11th Battalion, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (Donegal and Fermanagh Volunteers).
14th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles (Young Citizen Volunteers of Belfast).

In addition the division raised a Pioneer Battalion—the 16th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles (2nd County Down Volunteers).

The various Divisional Units, except the artillery attached to every army division, were also raised by the 36th Division on its own account and ultimately comprised the following divisional troops:—

Service Squadron, Inniskilling Dragoons.
153rd Brigade, Royal Field Artillery.
154th Brigade, Royal Field Artillery.
172nd Brigade, Royal Field Artillery.
173rd Brigade, Royal Field Artillery.
Divisional Ammunition Column, Royal Field Artillery.
121st Field Company, Royal Engineers.
122nd Field Company, Royal Engineers.
150th Field Company, Royal Engineers.
36th Divisional Signal Company, Royal Engineers.
Divisional Cyclists' Company.
108th Field Ambulance, R.A.M.C.
109th Field Ambulance, R.A.M.C.
110th Field Ambulance, R.A.M.C.
76th Sanitary Section, R.A.M.C.
Divisional Train, R.A.S.C.
48th Mobile Veterinary Section, R.A.V.C.
Army Chaplains' Department.

The artillery was of course not raised by the division, as each brigade received the contingent of artillery to be attached to it according to the mobilization arrangements of the War Office.

With regard to the Pioneer Battalion and divisional troops, the 36th Division occupied a unique position in Ireland. In the 10th and 16th (Irish) Divisions these attached units were not raised by the divisions themselves, but were supplied from English depots; thus the 36th Division has the proud boast of being the only purely and exclusively Irish division in the whole of the British army. Even to the divisional cooks and bakers, the 36th Division provided all the men from the Ulster Volunteer Force.

It is also worth noting that in addition to its service battalions, the 36th Division was the only Irish division to maintain several reserve battalions at home which trained recruits as they were wanted for service at the front. These reserve battalions included the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th Royal Irish Rifles, the 12th Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, and the 10th Royal Irish Fusiliers.

For the first eight months the division carried out its training in various Ulster camps, several of which, such as Clandeboye, the demesne of the Marquis of Dufferin, and Randalstown, the demesne of Lord O'Neill, were placed at the disposal of the army authorities by patriotic Ulstermen.

The first time for the division to meet

as a whole was on 8th May, 1915, when, with the exception of one battalion in quarantine through sickness, the entire division with all its attached units was inspected near Belfast by Major-General Sir Hugh M'Calmont, K.C.B., and subsequently marched through the city, General M'Calmont taking the salute in front of the City Hall. The inspecting officer expressed himself as greatly impressed by the discipline and fine marching of the men, most of whom, it should be remembered, had already the advantage over other new service battalions in the army of more than a year's previous training.

Almost immediately after this review the division was transferred to Seaford, in Sussex, and then to Aldershot for its final period of home training.

A good deal of discussion as to the merit of this division had arisen, and suggestions had been made that it was of very little fighting value. It was inspected by several distinguished officers at Seaford, notably by Lord Kitchener, who, as has since been learned, reported on his return that it was one of the finest divisions he had seen in the new army. Finally, on 30th September, 1915, immediately before its departure for France, the division was inspected by His Majesty the King, from whom, the next day, the following gracious message was received:

"Officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, you are about to join your comrades at the front in bringing to a successful end this relentless war of over twelve months' duration.

"Your prompt, patriotic answer to the nation's call to arms will never be forgotten. The keen exertions of all ranks during the period of training have brought you to a state of efficiency not unworthy of my regular army.

"I am confident that in the field you will nobly uphold the traditions of the fine regiments whose names you bear. Ever since your enrolment I have closely watched the growth and steady progress of all units. I shall continue to follow with interest the fortunes of your division.

"In bidding you farewell, I pray God may bless you in all your undertakings."

Early in October the division went to France and before long was in the trenches. The first private soldier was killed in November, 1915, and only a few days later the first officer fell, in the person of Lieutenant M'Dermont, son of the Rev. Dr. M'Dermont, a well-known Belfast clergyman.

It should have been mentioned that Major-General Powell, being considered not sufficiently robust in health for active service, was succeeded in command of the division just before it left England by Major-General Nugent, C.B., D.S.O., himself an Ulsterman. During the winter of 1915 and the first months of 1916 the division, like other divisions of the new armies, was divided, the different battalions being attached to various regular units for training, but by the end of February it was reunited, and during the remainder of the spring and summer, like the rest of the army, the 36th Division was preparing for the battle of the Somme.

THE SOMME BATTLE

What the Ulster Division accomplished in that contest is now amongst the most glorious episodes in the history of the British army. It had the misfortune, if it was a misfortune, to find itself opposite

one of the strongest portions of the whole German front, and yet in spite of all obstacles the division broke through five successive lines of trenches and held its position grimly for twenty-four hours, when, as its flanks on both sides were in the air, it was obliged to retire. So strong were the German defences on the Ancre and at Beaumont Hamel that they were not again entered by the British army until the month of November, and the troops which then gained these positions were astonished at the feat of the Ulstermen.

In his well-known history of the war, Colonel John Buchan says: "North of Thiepval the Ulster Division broke through the enemy trenches, passed the crest of the ridge, and reached the point called the Crucifix, in rear of the first German position. For a little they held the strong Schwaben Redoubt, which we were not to enter again till after three months of battle, and some even got into the outskirts of Grandcourt. It was the anniversary day of the battle of the Boyne, and that charge, when the men shouted 'Remember the Boyne!' will be for ever a glorious page in the annals of Ireland. Enfiladed on three sides, they went on through successive German lines, and only a remnant came back to tell the tale. That remnant brought many prisoners, one man herding fifteen of the enemy through their own barrage. In the words of the General who commanded it: 'The division carried out every portion of its allotted task in spite of the heaviest losses. It captured nearly 600 prisoners, and carried its advance triumphantly to the limits of the objective laid down.' Nothing finer was done in the war. The splendid troops, drawn from those Volunteers who had banded themselves together for another cause, now shed their blood like water for the liberty of the world."

Mr. Philip Gibbs, the famous war correspondent, said: "The attack of the Ulstermen was one of the finest displays of human courage in the history of the world".

On the morning of 1st July over 9,000 men from the division took part in the attack; at roll call on 3rd July scarcely 2500 answered, while of 400 officers, more than 250 were killed or wounded. Some battalions had hardly an officer left. The casualties were as follows: 8th Royal Irish Rifles, officers killed, wounded, and missing, 20; 10th Royal Irish Rifles, 18; 11th Royal Irish Rifles, 14; 12th Royal Irish Rifles, 17; 13th Royal Irish Rifles, 18; 14th Royal Irish Rifles, 16; 15th Royal Irish Rifles, 15; 9th Royal Irish Fusiliers, 18; 9th Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, 16; 10th Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, 12; 11th Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, 15; 16th Royal Irish Rifles, 1.

Almost every family in Ulster was left mourning after the battle. In many cases two brothers fell on the same day. Amongst the prisoners was Captain C. C. Craig, M.P. for East Antrim, who fell wounded in the leg while gallantly leading his company.

Two days after the battle General Nugent issued a special order of the day, in which he said: "The General Officer commanding the Ulster Division desires that the division should know that, in his opinion, nothing finer has been done in the war than the attack by the Ulster Division on 1st July. The leading of the company officers, the discipline and courage shown by all ranks of the division, will stand out in the future history of the war as an example of what good troops,

well led, are capable of accomplishing."

After the Somme battle the 36th Division was transferred to the 2nd Army in Flanders under General Plumer, and spent the rest of 1916 and the spring of 1917 in the neighbourhood of Messines, where it took its share in holding the trenches and in some lively raids on the German lines.

Then came the famous attack on the Messines Ridge, in which the 36th Division, side by side with the 16th (Irish) Division, which itself actually contained five Ulster battalions, stormed the ridge with the greatest gallantry, but at considerable cost in killed and wounded. The attack penetrated as far as the third German line, which was successfully captured and held.

General Gough, who was then commanding the Army Corps, stated: "In this battle the Ulster Division displayed the greatest courage and dash, as well as the greatest discipline and training. Their conduct was splendid, and I am happy to say the results were as splendid as the conduct which led to them."

After a short rest the division was transferred to Frezenberg, north-east of Ypres, where on 16th August, 1917, there was another fierce battle in which several battalions, especially the 9th Royal Irish Fusiliers, suffered very heavily.

During this time the conditions recalled the first awful winter of 1914–15. The muddy ground was too soft to allow the making of proper trenches, and the men sheltered as best they could in shell-holes and muddy hollows of various kinds, continually raked by German machine-gun fire from a height known as "Hill 35", which dominated the whole position of the division. At last a desperate attack was made on this hill, which the Ulstermen, wading nearly to the waist in mud, almost succeeded in capturing. They were unfortunately weakened so seriously in the process, however, that they were unable to maintain their position against the fierce German counter-attacks.

Sir Philip Gibbs has described the event in his usual graphic way. He tells how the Ulstermen seized the hill, and adds: "Then the counter-attacks drove in the thinned but still determined line of Irishmen, and they came back across the riddled ground, some of them wounded, all in the last stages of exhaustion, pausing in their unwilling journey to fire at the snipers who harassed them, and reaching at last the trenches they left at dawn, angry and bitter and disappointed, but undismayed—the heroes of a splendid failure". After this ordeal the division was taken out of the line for rest and reorganization, and was afterwards transferred to the southern zone, near Cambrai, to form part of the Third Army.

During the autumn of 1917 in the general army reorganization there was a redistribution of the various Ulster regiments, including both regulars and service battalions. In September the 8th and 9th Rifles were amalgamated, and also the 11th and 13th Rifles, to fill the vacancy in the 107th Brigade. The 1st Battalion, Royal Irish Fusiliers (regulars), was included in the 107th Brigade, and the 2nd Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles, was brought to the 108th Brigade, which was also strengthened by the transfer of 500 men from the North Irish Horse into the 9th Battalion of the Royal Irish Fusiliers.

During September and October the new units and the old battalions of the

division were engaged in training the drafts which had been sent to replace the losses incurred at Messines. On 20th November the 36th Division played a foremost part in the dashing attack on the Hindenburg Line at Cambrai.

Referring to the attack of the Ulstermen, Sir A. Conan Doyle, in his history of the war, says:

"The British front was cut across diagonally by a considerable canal with deep sides—the Canal du Nord. Upon the north side of this was one division. This flank unit was the famous 36th Ulsters, who behaved this day with their usual magnificent gallantry. Advancing with deliberate determination, they carried all before them, though exposed to that extra strain to which a flank unit must always submit. Their left was enfiladed by the enemy, and they had continually to build up a defensive line, which naturally subtracted from their numbers and made a long advance impossible. None the less, after rushing a high bank bristling with machine-guns, they secured the second Hindenburg Line, where they were firmly established by 10.30, after a sharp contest with the garrison. They then swept forward, keeping the canal upon their right, until by evening they had established themselves upon the Bapaume-Cambrai road."

At first the division was brilliantly successful in winning all its objectives, which it held against fierce counter-attacks. The 107th Brigade did not take part in the original attack on 22nd November, but was thrown in on the 23rd to strengthen the other brigades, when the 8th–9th Rifles specially distinguished themselves, capturing Round Trench and Quarry Wood, near Moeuvres. Unfortunately the battalion became isolated through want of support on both sides, and was driven out of the Wood, but held on to Round Trench until relieved by another battalion. During these actions the engineering sections of the division were specially commended for their heroism and endurance in consolidating positions which had been captured. Unfortunately the casualties once again were very heavy, including many officers, who could ill be spared.

Following upon this fight at Cambrai the division was still engaged in several sharp contests on the Hindenburg Line close to Havrincourt Wood. During the first week of December there was a very fierce struggle at La Vacquerie, in which the 8th Inniskillings (Tyrone Volunteers) suffered considerably, having five officers killed. Amongst them was Second-Lieutenant J. S. Emerson, who was subsequently gazetted to the V.C. which he did not live to receive, this being the fifth V.C. awarded to the division.

At the beginning of 1918 the 36th Division was moved from the Cambrai district and sent south-east, where they took over a certain portion of the line to relieve the French, who were then hard pressed for reinforcements.

Early in the same year there took place a complete reorganization of the army under a new scheme, by which each brigade was to consist of three battalions instead of four. In February the 8th–9th Rifles were disbanded, as also the 10th, 11th–13th, and 14th Rifles, the men being drafted into other battalions of the division. The 10th and 11th Inniskilling Fusiliers were also disbanded and transferred to other battalions of the same regiment.

Just before the beginning of the great German attack in March, the composition

of the newly-arranged Ulster Division was as follows:—

107th Brigade

1st Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles.
2nd Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles.
15th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles.

108th Brigade

12th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles.
1st Battalion, Royal Irish Fusiliers.
9th Battalion, Royal Irish Fusiliers.

109th Brigade

1st Battalion, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers.
2nd Battalion, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers.
9th Battalion, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers.

From this it will be seen that all the old regular battalions of the Ulster regiments, except the 2nd Royal Irish Fusiliers who were serving in the East, had now been drafted into the 36th Division, which then formed part of the 18th Corps, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Ivor Maxse.

Other battalions of the three Ulster regiments, the Royal Irish Rifles, Royal Irish Fusiliers, and the Inniskilling Fusiliers were still serving in the 10th and 16th (Irish) Divisions, whose history has yet to be related.

THE LAST GERMAN OFFENSIVE

On the eve of 21st March, 1918, the Ulster Division held a front of about 6000 yards in the forward zone, and also occupied ground to a depth of about 1200 yards from its outposts. The three battalions of the 108th Brigade met the first weight of the German onslaught. After being bombarded for five hours with a tremendous canonade from all sizes of German guns, they were attacked by the full weight of no less than three German divisions, the odds being something like ten to one. The three heroic battalions were practically wiped out, and it was only from a few survivors of the 12th Royal Irish Rifles, who swam down the canal at night, that Head-quarters learned how a small handful of the battalions was still gallantly holding out. After twenty-four hours continuous fighting the three battalions were represented by a few stragglers, so that the full story of that heroic stand can never be fully told, as the men who escaped had only a confused idea of what actually happened during the fog.

The forward zone held by the 108th Brigade having been thus carried by the Germans, there followed a furious onslaught on the actual battle front defended by the other two brigades, who offered a desperate resistance, although the attacking forces were far more numerous and unfortunately stronger in artillery. The mist formed an additional handicap to our men, making it impossible for the British artillery in the rear to direct their fire with accuracy upon the advancing Germans. Nevertheless only at one point, Contescourt, did the enemy succeed in piercing our line, and the whole front would probably have been held by the men of the 36th Division, but for the fact that their right flank was completely turned at Essigny, where the Germans succeeded in driving back a neighbouring division. The loss of this position and the necessity of forming a new front on its right flank, along with the risk of being completely surrounded and cut off, ultimately compelled the division to withdraw, but it fell back fighting grimly all the time. Here and there some remark-

able gallantry was shown by the different battalions. At Fontaine-les-Clercs the 1st Battalion, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, repulsed no less than twelve consecutive attacks by overwhelming numbers of the enemy, and would probably have succeeded in holding the position by fierce counter-attacks, had it not been necessary to fall back with the rest of the division to save envelopment. The withdrawal was carried out in good order on the night of 26th March, and the retreat was quietly and steadily conducted. During this time the 121st Field Company, R.E., aided by the Engineering Company attached to the division, performed splendid service at St. Simon and elsewhere in destroying bridges and otherwise obstructing the enemy, always under continuous fire. So far from being broken or demoralized the division preserved its fighting spirit to the bitter end. Of this there were many notable illustrations, as when the 9th Royal Irish Fusiliers turned furiously on the enemy at Villeselves, and actually charged side by side with the Royal Dragoons, in a brilliant counter-attack. At another place a small band of less than forty machine-gunners recaptured Erches and took 200 German prisoners, while the 109th Brigade held on to Guerbigny up to the 27th March, when it was almost entirely surrounded by the enemy.

Once again the losses of the division were terribly severe, amounting to more than five thousand officers and men. The number of killed and badly wounded was, however, less heavy than at Thiepval, the majority of the losses being officers and men taken prisoner. Amongst the killed was Lieutenant W. D. Magookin, 12th Rifles, who before obtaining his commission was the first N.C.O. in the division to receive a decoration, having been awarded the D.C.M. in 1915 (when Second-Lieutenant H. M. de la Maziere Harpur of the same battalion won the first M.C. gained by the 36th Division). Second-Lieutenant E. De Wind, 15th Rifles, who had gained the V.C. at St. Quentin, also fell here.

The other St. Quentin V.C., Second-Lieutenant C. L. Knox, R.E., was fortunate enough to survive the retreat. Amongst the officers captured were Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Farnham, commanding the 2nd Inniskillings, and Lieutenant-Colonel C. O. Place, of the Head-quarters Staff.

By this time it was felt that the broken and shattered 36th Division was fairly entitled to a rest, and it was moved north to billets at Cassel for a time. Its period of training and recuperation did not last long. The 108th Brigade, while marching to join the other two brigades, was suddenly called upon to meet the last desperate German attempt to reach the Channel ports. For some days in April, 1918, the fighting was extremely severe, and the 108th Brigade lost many of its best-known officers, including Lieutenant-Colonel Blair Oliphant, D.S.O., who was then commanding one of the battalions; but as usual the Ulstermen accomplished all they were asked to do. The cost, unfortunately, was heavy, and it was only a remnant of the 108th under General Griffiths that survived to join the other two brigades. It was given three months to rest and refit before again going into action.

Early in May, Major-General Nugent handed over the command of the division to General Coffin, V.C., who had greatly distinguished himself right from the beginning of the war. The new com-

mander occupied himself at first with the task of reorganizing the shattered division and once more bringing it up to strength, ready for future work.

During the summer of 1918 there was a good deal of desultory fighting, and the division suffered considerably from continual counter-attacks, but the threatened German offensive in force never developed. The power of initiative had finally passed from the enemy.

During the earlier stages of the last great French and British advance, the northern sector was comparatively quiet. In the middle of August, however, when the Germans were in full retreat on the southern sector, the British offensive was extended farther north. On 24th August the 1st and 9th Royal Irish Fusiliers and the 15th Royal Irish Rifles made a brilliant attack, carrying the whole system of German defences at Bailleul on a front of over a mile, and compelling the enemy to evacuate the famous Kemmel Hill, from which they had since April threatened the British lines. The Ulstermen's onslaught was pressed home with relentless vigour. The 109th Brigade came into the line and took over the new positions which the 107th and 108th Brigades had captured on 24th August. They immediately discovered the German retreat, and by 26th August the whole division was in full pursuit of the enemy.

It was not altogether easy for these troops to carry out the new system of open warfare, after three years of trench fighting, but within two days the division had adapted itself to the new situation. The 109th Brigade, consisting of three Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers battalions, pressing hard on the enemy, drove them at one stroke from the famous Ravelsberg Ridge, and following in pursuit forced them back to a new defensive position at Neuve Eglise. These successes were not won without a considerable number of casualties. The 2nd Battalion, Inniskilling Fusiliers, had to mourn the loss of their gallant commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Knott, D.S.O., who died from wounds received on 30th August.

A good deal of the country now traversed was familiar to many of the officers and men of the division, as they had held it for some time before the capture of the Messines Ridge in June, 1917. In this region further severe fighting was now experienced. The 109th Brigade, after their advance from the 26th to 30th August, dug themselves in on their new position, while the 108th Brigade advanced through their lines and attacked Neuve Eglise. On the morning of 1st September, the 1st Royal Irish Fusiliers, and the 12th Rifles headed the advance, with the 9th Royal Irish Fusiliers in support. The enemy, realizing the importance of their position, made a most stubborn defence, sweeping all the open spaces with fierce machine-gun fire. Nothing, however, could stop the men of the 36th Division, and soon Neuve Eglise was surrounded. At this stage the attack was temporarily held up by the fire from concealed German machine-guns; while the rapid advance of both the 1st Royal Irish Fusiliers and 12th Rifles had left them unprotected on both flanks. Accordingly a detachment of the 12th Rifles was told off to rush Neuve Eglise. The attack, in spite of the heavy fire it had to encounter, was brilliantly successful, and by four o'clock in the afternoon of 1st September the village was taken.

After the capture of Wulverghem on the following day, a halt was made to enable reinforcements to be brought up

and to prepare for a renewal of the attack next morning. During the night the Germans were also strongly reinforced, and when the 9th Royal Irish Fusiliers, who were now holding the front line, attacked on the 3rd, they met with a very stiff resistance. In spite of this they captured Hill 36, the most important point of the line, and held it against determined counter-attacks. Further progress, however, was for the moment impossible.

The 107th Brigade next carried on the attack, which encountered desperate opposition on the Messines Ridge, where again the advance was checked. The brigade, however, stubbornly held to the ground it had won, although it was subject to the most intense shell-fire, and lost several of its senior officers, including Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Bridcutt, D.S.O., commanding the 2nd Rifles; while Lieutenant-Colonel Smythe, D.S.O., commanding the 15th Rifles, was wounded. The 2nd Inniskilling Fusiliers also lost their commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel L. de Fitzgerald, while the second in command, Major G. M. Forde, D.S.O., was severely wounded.

A few days later the division was ordered still farther north, where, with the 9th and 29th Divisions, it formed the 2nd Corps, which co-operated with the Belgian army in the final advance. The first fighting of this phase took place on 28th September, 1918, in the Ypres region, the Germans being driven from their positions only to take up a new defensive line a few miles farther back.

Once again the famous 109th Brigade came into action, with the 1st and 2nd Inniskilling Battalions leading, and the 9th in reserve. Operations were entirely successful in spite of the determined defence. Not only was the whole German position captured, but the 2nd Battalion pushed on two miles beyond it, completely surprising the enemy and taking many prisoners. The 108th Brigade suffered many heavy casualties in its gallant attack on a commanding position east of Dadazeele, the crest of which it however attained and held. Farther south the 107th Brigade also met with fierce resistance, and the 12th Rifles and 1st Royal Irish Fusiliers had to withstand some tremendous German counter-attacks. Nothing, however, could move them from their positions, and, although both battalions were reduced to a mere handful, they obstinately refused to retreat, and held their ground until it was time for a further advance.

The next fortnight was spent in the consolidation of the positions and the bringing up of reserves. During this period German shell-fire was practically continuous. The division suffered heavily. Lieutenant-Colonel P. E. Kelly, the gallant young commander of the 9th Royal Irish Fusiliers, was killed on 10th October.

On 14th October the attack was again launched, and the enemy, driven from his positions, was pursued by the 109th Brigade as far as Courtrai, the Inniskillings being the first British troops to reach and enter the town. The principal bridge over the Lys Canal having been blown up by the retreating enemy, the engineers of the division promptly proceeded, with the greatest gallantry, to lay a pontoon bridge under heavy fire. Before the division could cross, however, it was again sent farther north, and eventually made the passage of the Lys at Oyghem in face of fierce opposition, the 109th Brigade and the engineers again earning great credit. When, on

11th November, the Armistice put an end to the fighting, the 36th Division was holding the line of the Scheldt to which the Germans had been driven back.

During these last days casualties were very heavy, and included Colonel Jones, D.S.O., of the 15th Rifles, who was mortally wounded. Two Victoria Crosses were won by the division: one going to Lance-Corporal Ernest Seaman, 2nd Inniskilling Fusiliers, who was killed a few days later; the other to Private Norman Harvey, 1st Inniskilling Fusiliers.

Before the division was disbanded it had the honour of being visited by the Prince of Wales on 30th January and 1st February, 1919. It was quite an informal event, no reviews or regular inspections being held. The Prince visited all the battalions and was able to converse with a large number of the officers and men, including the sick in the Field Ambulances.

In the spring of 1919, all the service battalions but one were disbanded and returned to their depots in Ireland. The 12th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles, having been strengthened by volunteers from other units, was retained for service, and advanced with the other British troops detailed for the occupation of German territory. At the time of writing it was stationed at Cologne.

Before the division broke up to return home the Commander of the Army Corps, Lieutenant-General Sir Ivor Maxse, issued the following order of the day to General Coffin:

"The 36th (Ulster) Division has been fighting continuously since the 28th September in the operations in Flanders. The spirit, dash, and initiative shown by all ranks have been splendid and beyond all praise. The leadership displayed by yourself and your brigade and other commanders could not have been better. The conditions under which the men have had to fight have been trying, but nothing seemed to stop your gallant division. I have also been struck with the good staff work of the division, and it is very creditable to all concerned. Will you kindly express to the commanders, staffs, and all ranks of the division my heartiest congratulations and thanks for their work?

"When the history is written of what the division has done in Flanders during the past month it will prove to be a record of magnificent fighting and wonderful progress, for, during this period, an advance has been made of about 25 miles over the worst of country and under the heaviest machine-gun fire ever experienced in war. This advance has entailed constant fighting, but the 36th Division has overcome every obstacle and has proved itself to be one of the best fighting divisions in the army—well commanded and well staffed."

The following order was also issued, dated 22nd October, 1918:

"Marshal Foch visited the Army Commander to-day and asked him to send his congratulations to the 2nd Corps and to the 9th, 29th, and 36th Divisions for their splendid work in the operations since the 14th October. Please communicate the above to all ranks.

"The Divisional Commander congratulates all ranks on the splendid fighting qualities exhibited by them which have won this approbation from Marshal Foch.

(Signed) "A. G. Thomson,
"Lieutenant-Colonel, G.S.,
"36th (Ulster) Division."

This ends the fighting history of the famous 36th (Ulster) Division, who have left a record of gallantry and success equalled by few and perhaps surpassed by none of the new army divisions.

The following is the record of honours gained by the officers, N.C.O.'s, and men of the 36th (Ulster) Division, from October, 1915, to the end of the war:

Victoria Cross	9
Distinguished Service Order	71
Military Cross	459
Distinguished Conduct Medal	173
Military Medal	1294
Meritorious Service Medal ..	118
Foreign (French, Belgian, &c.)	312
	2436

In a message sent by His Majesty the King to Sir Edward Carson in December, 1918, he said:

" In these days of rejoicing I recall the deeds of the 36th (Ulster) Division, which have more than fulfilled the high opinion formed by me on inspecting that force on the eve of its departure for the front. Throughout the long years of struggle, which have now so gloriously ended, the men of Ulster have proved how nobly they fight and die."

THE 10th IRISH DIVISION

The deeds of the different battalions of the 36th Division by no means exhaust the record of Ulster's soldiers in the war. They were very largely represented in other divisions. The 10th (Irish) Division, for example, contained a whole brigade and one additional battalion. The 31st Brigade of the 10th Division consisted of the 5th and 6th Battalions, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, and the 5th and 6th Battalions, Royal Irish Fusiliers, while in the 29th Brigade there was the 6th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles. This was the first division of the new service battalions formed in Ireland, and it included a large number of Ulstermen who joined up immediately in the first rush to the colours, before official sanction had been obtained from the War Office for the formation of the 36th Division from the Ulster Volunteers.

The division was trained close to Dublin, and afterwards at Basingstoke. Its commanding officer was General Sir Bryan Mahon, a distinguished Irish soldier, who took the division to Gallipoli in August, 1915, after a year of training. The Ulster Brigade of the 10th Division took part in the first famous attack, being amongst the first troops to land.

In front of it was a hillock known as Chocolate Hill, while behind was the main ridge of the Gallipoli peninsula, known as Sari Bair. The disembarking was a terribly difficult business, carried out under a hail of machine-gun fire and shrapnel from the concealed Turkish positions. On landing, the Ulster Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General F. F. Hill, moved forward by a narrow strip of sand between the sea and the Salt Lake, harassed all the way by machine-guns and snipers. The attack pressed on, however, until with a great cheer the Inniskillings and Irish Fusiliers swept forward into the enemy's trenches, the whole of which were captured before nightfall. Severe but unavailing fighting followed as the defence grew stronger. Besides the many casualties inflicted by the enemy, there were a considerable number due to disease, but in spite of all, the men kept up their fighting spirit. As it was found impossible to advance

towards Sari Bair, the 10th Division was ordered to attack along both sides of the ridge known as Kiretch Tepe Sirt, which was held by the Turks. The northern side was the easier proposition and was successfully carried; but on the south the 5th Inniskillings found themselves faced with a practically impossible task, and were almost exterminated in their unavailing attempts to carry it out. The Turks were well supplied with hand-grenades, with which they bombarded our men incessantly. Attacked as they were on front and flank, the Royal Irish Fusiliers, who held the ground nearest the sea, were also almost wiped out, but the survivors stubbornly clung to their position.

On the night of 15th August, the other brigades were brought up to reinforce their comrades, but on the following morning it became clear that the position was untenable, and the 10th Division was ordered to retire. Harassed on all sides by a tireless but well-nigh invisible enemy, without sleep or rest, tortured by thirst and in many cases suffering intensely from enteric or dysentery, the men had held what seemed an impossible position for thirty-six hours, and even in failure had covered themselves with glory.

The 6th Rifles did not share in this fighting, but soon had their own ordeal. They disembarked at Anzac on 5th August, and were held in reserve for a day or two, before being sent to hold the ground already captured half-way up the steep ridge of Sari Bair. Here they were terribly exposed to enemy fire, and ultimately, on 10th August, had to meet a desperate attack from the Turks. Again and again the enemy was thrown back, but fresh masses continued to roll forward. The colonel, adjutant, and practically all the senior officers soon became casualties, and, before the evening of the 10th, a junior officer from Belfast found himself in command of the battalion. Orders came to withdraw, but the men, few in number and worn out as they were, insisted on one last counter-attack. It was in vain, and the remnant was finally withdrawn.

The advent of Bulgaria into the war and the German advance through Serbia had altered the situation in Macedonia, and in September a considerable number of British troops were moved from Gallipoli to Salonika, amongst them the remnant of the 10th Division. Casualties in the field combined with sickness had terribly reduced its strength. The 5th Royal Irish Fusiliers, for example, consisted of only 4 officers and 160 men. For a short period the division remained at Lemnos and Mudros to recuperate, but in October found itself in the trenches north of Salonika, along the line from that town to Krivolak in support of the French right. On the 27th of the month it was decided to make an attempt to get into touch with the retreating Serbian forces. In that mountainous country, with only one available railway, and scarcely any roads, the task of moving troops was extremely difficult. Every day brought some disheartening news of the Serbian rout and the German and Bulgarian advance towards Salonika along the Struma valley. It was therefore necessary to draw back the Allied forces, and the 10th Division acted as the pivot on which the operation was made, holding the vital spot until the French were able to withdraw from their positions. On 6th, 7th, and 8th December it was attacked in force by the enemy, at a time when it was suffering very severely from

the intense cold of the Macedonian mountains. The division at this time was holding the line for ten miles in mountainous and difficult country, including a spur known as Rocky Peak. In the defence of this position the Ulster brigade again distinguished itself. Before daylight the enemy had rushed an advance post of the Irish Fusiliers at Rocky Peak, from which they were able to command a considerable part of our line with machine-guns. For nine hours, however, the Ulster brigade, using rifles almost solely, held off great masses of Bulgarians, sometimes counter-attacking fiercely with the bayonet. Finally the line fell back to the mouth of the Dedli Pass, which they held for three more days until the rest of the Allied forces had been safely drawn back. Then in turn the 31st (Ulster) Brigade and part of the 29th Brigade, acting as the rear-guard, began to retire, with the enemy pressing hard on their heels. On the northern edge of Lake Doiran the Inniskillings and Irish Fusiliers fought some desperate battles to hold back the enemy, retreating all the time through bleak, open country in torrents of rain, while the other brigades, more fortunate, were able to retire by train down the only available railway. Speaking of this rear-guard fighting the French general declared, "The rear-guard fighting of the Irish in the Serbian mountains was one of the most striking feats of arms in the whole war. Against ten times their number, they saved the British and French."

For nearly six months there was little fighting on the Macedonian front, and the 10th Division was mainly engaged in training new drafts, resting the survivors of the Gallipoli and Lake Doiran fights, and preparing the outer defences of Salonika, which it was expected the enemy might attack any day. When it became evident that neither the Germans nor Bulgarians had any inclination for an onslaught on these practically impregnable defences, the Ulster brigade, along with their comrades of the 6th Rifles, again advanced into Northern Macedonia, occupying the heights overlooking the Struma Valley. In September, 1916, the 10th Division held the heights on the right bank of the Struma River with the enemy on the other side, and during the autumn various small engagements took place.

In November, 1916, the 5th and 6th Battalions, Royal Irish Fusiliers, were amalgamated, as both had been so badly cut up, while the 2nd Battalion of the same regiment was brought up to replace the 6th Rifles in the 36th Division. The remainder of 1916 and the spring of 1917 was spent in comparative quiet, varied only by occasional raids, and in September, 1917, the 10th Division, except the 6th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles, was ordered to Egypt for the advance on Palestine, after nearly two years of a very trying experience in the Balkans.

At the end of September the 10th Division reached Alexandria, and after a week's rest joined General Allenby's army. The Sinai Desert was safely crossed, although the troops suffered considerably from want of water. In the first advance the 10th Division was told off to attack the enemy's line between Gaza and Beersheba. The first fighting took place on 6th November, when the Ulster brigade was opposite a network of strong and well-constructed Turkish trenches, which were speedily captured, the 2nd and 5th Irish Fusiliers leading the attack. On the following day

Haneira Tefe redoubt, one of the strongest enemy positions, was taken by assault, and the Turks were completely driven out of their line.

The 10th Division then marched westwards across the desert near the coast. By the end of November it was advancing northwards through the land of Goshen and the Valley of Agalon, and on 9th December took its full share in the great attack which enveloped Jerusalem. When the Turks made an equally-determined reply, the division counter-attacked with a view to cutting off the enemy's communications. The Ulster Brigade carried a series of heights overlooking the region known in the Bible as the Valley of Elah, the scene of the historic encounter between David and Goliath, and very soon sent the Turks into headlong retreat. After a Christmas rest most of January and February was spent in road-making, bringing up ammunition and supplies, and in other preparations for the next advance. On 9th March, 1918, a new offensive began towards Tiljilia (known in Scripture as Gilgal), and in this the 2nd Irish Fusiliers, the 5th Irish Fusiliers, and the 5th Inniskilling Fusiliers particularly distinguished themselves, while the 31st Brigade had the honour of being the only one which captured all its objectives within the allotted period. Then for a spell the division was once more engaged in road-making and other work behind the front lines, and just as a fresh offensive was about to commence the greater portion of it was suddenly transferred to France to assist in stemming the last great German offensive.

No longer, however, did the 10th Division operate as a unit. The 5th and 6th Irish Fusiliers were sent to the 14th Division in the Merville sector, and afterwards to the 30th Division, then to the 66th, and finally to the reorganized 16th (Irish) Division, which it joined in August, 1918. It took part in the subsequent advance along the La Bassée-Haute Deule Canal and as far as the Scheldt, which was crossed on 10th November, the day before the signing of the Armistice. The Inniskilling Fusiliers were in the Cambrai sector, and did their share in the fighting in October, which has already been described.

One of the Ulster battalions of the 10th Division, the 6th Irish Rifles, never served in France, remaining in the Balkans until the close of the war, and assisting in the ultimate defeat of the Bulgarians.

THE 16th DIVISION

In the 16th (Irish) Division, as in the 10th, there were five Ulster Battalions—the 7th and 8th Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, the 7th and 8th Royal Irish Fusiliers (which formed the 49th Brigade), and also the 7th Royal Irish Rifles, which formed part of the 48th Brigade. There were also in the 6th Battalion Connaught Rangers (another unit of the 48th Brigade), several hundred Ulsterman, chiefly from Belfast; while the 6th Royal Irish Regiment, in the 48th Brigade, also contained several hundred men from Londonderry and Tyrone.

The 16th Division was trained at Fermoy, County Cork, and before leaving for England in 1915, the 49th Brigade spent a short period at Finner Camp in County Donegal. Training was completed at Aldershot, and in December, 1915, the 47th and 48th Brigades went overseas. The 49th, or Ulster Brigade, was not at full strength, because 1700 men had been

taken from it to fill up vacancies in the 10th Division when it went to Gallipoli. In January, 1916, however, it had again been brought up to full strength, and was inspected by the Queen before proceeding to join the other brigades.

For the first two or three months the division held the line at the Vermelles sector, and soon made a name by its smart raids on the German trenches. The first serious ordeal took place on 27th April, 1916, when it was subjected to one of the most intense gas attacks which up till then had been launched by the Germans. Unfortunately the gas-masks and other defensive appliances were not then as good as they afterwards became, and the division, especially the two Inniskilling battalions, suffered severely. In spite of the gas these battalions held their lines against fierce German onslaughts both on 27th and 29th April, not a man giving way.

During the next two months, the division, like so many others, was busy preparing for the Somme battle. It was not actively engaged in the first fighting on the Somme, but in September, 1916, made a splendid name for itself by its attacks on Guinchy and Guillemont. Guillemont was first attacked on 3rd September, and was carried with splendid gallantry, although it was well known to be one of the strongest fortified positions in the whole of the German line, and in less than a week Guinchy was captured in a similár fashion, the Royal Irish Rifles specially distinguishing themselves, and this was followed up by another victorious rush by the two Fusilier battalions just north of Combles. The 49th Brigade and the 7th Royal Irish Rifles suffered very heavily in this fighting, their casualties going well into four figures. Colonel Dalzell Walton, Commander of the 8th Inniskillings, was killed; Colonel Young, of the 7th Inniskillings, dangerously wounded; Major A. B. Cairns and Major Nash of the 7th Rifles were killed; and also Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox Conyngham, a gallant Ulsterman who was commanding the 6th Connaught Rangers.

During the rest of 1916 and the spring of 1917, the division was in the northern sector in Flanders, where it held the line next to the 36th (Ulster) Division. In the great attack on the Messines Ridge on 7th June, 1917, the 16th Division fought on the left of the Ulster Division, and thanks to the excellent work of the artillery the casualties were much less than on the Somme. A wood captured by the "Skins" in the course of the battle was subsequently, with the permission of the Commander-in-Chief, named Inniskilling Wood, in memory of their valour.

Two days after this engagement the division was relieved and given six weeks rest. On 31st July a season of fierce fighting began and lasted until 16th August, the 36th and 16th Divisions fighting side by side. The Inniskillings and Rifles of the 16th Division found themselves opposed to a powerful system of German concrete blockhouses. As they advanced they were received with terrible machine-gun fire from these defences, and lost very heavily. Nothing daunted, however, the Rifles advanced a considerable distance, capturing a number of prisoners; while the Inniskillings seized two strong redoubts and Hill 27, one of the keys of the position. Here both Inniskillings and Rifles hung on grimly for many hours, but owing to the intense machine-gun fire from the still uncaptured blockhouses it was impossible to advance farther or even to hold the ground already gained. Not

only were the battalions subjected to heavy fire from the " pill-boxes ", but also from German aeroplanes. Finally the order to retreat was given, and slowly, still fighting, the 49th Brigade fell back, losing many men in killed and prisoners. Among the killed were Colonel Boardman of the Inniskillings, Lieutenant Coombes, the famous army boxer, and many other officers.

After this action certain amalgamations took place amongst the greatly reduced battalions of the 16th Division. The 7th and 8th Inniskillings were joined, as were also the 7th and 8th Royal Irish Fusiliers; while the 7th Rifles were disbanded and the personnel drafted into other Rifle battalions.

For the next three months the division rested, but on 2nd November, 1917, it captured the heights of Croiselles, taking nearly one thousand prisoners, and putting a complete German division out of action. This position was held until the spring of 1918. When the Germans made their last great attack in March, the 7th–8th Inniskillings suffered severely, a large number of men being taken prisoners. The entire division was reduced to less than the numbers of a brigade. It was then disbanded and the men distributed among other Irish regiments, to be reorganized towards the end of the war in conjunction with the battalions of the 10th Division, which had arrived from the East. It was ready for action once more when the Armistice was signed.

THE NAVY

The work of Ulstermen in the fighting services was not confined to the army. As was natural in a province so much given up to shipbuilding and shipping, a large number of men joined the navy, and there was scarcely a sea fight during the war which did not bring bereavement to Ulster families.

When the cruiser *Hawke* was sunk in the North Sea in 1915, over fifty Belfast men were drowned. In the battle of Jutland an Ulsterman, Commander the Honourable E. B. S. Bingham, the brother-in-law of Lord Clanmorris, won the V.C. for a very gallant exploit. The following is the official record of the award:

" For the extremely gallant way in which he held his division in their attack, first on the enemy destroyers and then on their battle-cruisers, in the Jutland battle. He finally sighted the enemy battle fleet, and, followed by the one remaining destroyer of his division (*Nicator*), with dauntless courage he closed to within three thousand yards of the enemy in order to obtain a favourable position for firing the torpedoes. While making this attack, *Nestor* and *Nicator* were under concentrated fire of the secondary batteries of the High Sea Fleet. *Nestor* was subsequently sunk."

When Lord Kitchener went down with the *Hampshire* a number of Ulstermen, including the ship's surgeon, also lost their lives.

Ulstermen played their part in the famous battle of Zeebrugge. Lieutenant Oscar Henderson, son of Sir James Henderson, former Lord Mayor of Belfast, was an officer on the *Iris* in this battle, and received the D.S.O. for his bravery in heading a party to extinguish a fire which every moment threatened to blow up the magazine. When the captain was mortally wounded Lieutenant Henderson took command, and with great skill and bravery brought the vessel safely out of

action. In this battle also a number of Ulster officers and men lost their lives.

In the mercantile marine many thousands of Ulstermen were serving in the three or four steamship lines which have their head-quarters in Belfast, and also in many other ships.

In the two great shipyards, Messrs. Harland & Wolff and Workman, Clark, & Co., nearly 11 per cent of all the navy shipbuilding and ship repairing during the war was carried out. Both firms gained special credit for the rate at which they accomplished all the work given to them. They never exceeded the contract time, and in many cases, thanks to the energy and patriotism of the men, it was accomplished in two-thirds and even half the time allowed by the Admiralty. Mr. Lloyd George on more than one occasion paid a special tribute to the wonderful work of Belfast shipyards.

It was in these yards that the famous "Dummy" ships were constructed. They were fourteen in number, called after famous vessels actually in the Royal Navy, and when they had served their purpose in misleading the Germans as to the strength and size of our fleet, they were converted into cargo and oil carriers, in which capacity they did most valuable service. One was utilized as a balloon ship.

It is worth mentioning that the workers in the Belfast shipyards from the beginning of the war agreed to what is known as "dilution" of labour—that is the introduction, for temporary work, of men not Trades Unionists.

Having finished with the "Dummy" ships, the Belfast shipyards turned their attention to the building of "Monitors" —vessels of light draught—which were of great use off the Belgian coast. The first of these was turned out in the remarkably short period of four and a half months. Altogether seven of these vessels were built at Belfast. From Belfast also came the *Glorious*, which at the time of her launch was the fastest and most powerfully-armed naval vessel in the world.

A great amount of engineering work was also done in Belfast, including the engines for a number of the largest submarines. Here also the great White Star liners like the *Britannic* and *Olympic* were fitted up for use as hospital ships.

A remarkable feat accomplished by Workman, Clark, & Co. was the conversion of four cruisers into monitors, by an ingenious shell placed along the side of the vessels to protect them from torpedo attacks. By the same firm seven of the famous "Q" or "Hush" boats were constructed, also the first oil-tank steamer for use in the war, and a series of small hospital ships, while they also did a great deal of repairing work. The average output of Workman, Clark, & Co. was almost one vessel per day during the war, while Harland & Wolff perhaps did even more.

During this period the workmen in Belfast shipyards held all the world's records for speed in riveting. Messrs. Workman, Clark, & Co. also made a world's record by finishing a "standard" ship of 8000 tons in less than four days from the date of its launch.

Other useful work was done by the North of Ireland Shipbuilding Co. at Londonderry, and by the Larne Shipbuilding Co.; while two Belfast firms opened a yard at Warrenpoint, County

Down, where the concrete ships for the Admiralty were built.

AIR SERVICE

In the Air Service Ulster played a prominent part. She contributed a number of the most brilliant young airmen, such as the two brothers Tyrrell and the brothers Cowan, who were all killed after distinguished service; as well as many others whose names appear in the list of honours. It is also worth mentioning that Flight-Lieutenant Warneford, who destroyed the first Zeppelin, although born in England, was by descent an Ulsterman.

It is not an exaggeration to say that without Ulster there could scarcely have been any Air Service, because from the Ulster linen factories came 95 per cent of all the linen used for aeroplanes by Great Britain and her Allies. A specially-woven cloth was necessary, combining lightness and strength, which could not be produced anywhere else in the world but in Ulster. At one time the output would have been sufficient to equip something like one thousand five hundred aeroplanes per day. Some of the largest and most powerful engines were built at an aeroplane factory equipped by Messrs. Harland & Wolff, who also constructed, a few miles from Belfast, a splendid aerodrome for trial flights.

Many other Belfast and Ulster industries were of great value in the war. The Belfast Ropeworks Co., the largest concern of its kind in the world, was almost entirely engaged for four years in turning out cables of all sorts and kinds for the use of the Admiralty and the mercantile marine. Many other firms were engaged in turning out tents and all sorts of linen articles required by the Government.

ULSTER V.C.'S

It is not possible to get a complete record of all the distinctions won by the several Irish divisions and battalions, but the following is a complete list of the V.C.'s which were won by Ulstermen in the army during the war:

34419, Sergeant (afterwards Major) David Nelson, L. Battery, Royal Horse Artillery.

For helping to bring the guns into action under heavy fire at Nery, on 1st September, 1914, and while severely wounded remaining with them until all the ammunition was expended, although he had been ordered to retire to cover.

He went to France as an N.C.O., and died of wounds there in April, 1918, having risen to the rank of major.

1053, Private Robert Morrow, 1st Battalion, Royal Irish Fusiliers.

For most conspicuous bravery near Messines on 12th April, 1915, when he rescued and carried successively to places of comparative safety several men who had been buried in the debris of trenches wrecked by shell-fire. Was killed in action a few months after winning the cross.

1539, Sergeant-Major Frederick William Hall, 8th Canadian Battalion.

On 24th April, 1915, in the neighbourhood of Ypres, when a wounded man, who was lying some fifteen yards from the trench, called for help, endeavoured to reach him in the face of a very heavy enfilade fire which was being poured in by the enemy. Sergeant-Major Hall then made a second most gallant attempt, and was in the act of lifting up the wounded man to bring him in when he fell mortally wounded in the head.

10512, Sergeant James Somers, 1st Bat-

talion, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (29th Division).

For most conspicuous bravery on the night of July 1–2, 1915, in the southern zone of the Gallipolli Peninsula, when, owing to hostile bombing, some of our troops had retired from a sap, Sergeant Somers remained alone on the spot until a party brought up bombs. He then climbed over into the Turkish trench and bombed the Turks with great effect. Later on he advanced into the open under heavy fire, and held back the enemy by throwing bombs into their flank until a barricade had been established. During this period he frequently ran to and from our trenches to obtain fresh supplies of bombs. By his gallantry and coolness Sergeant Somers was largely instrumental in effecting the recapture of a portion of our trench which had been lost. Sergeant Somers was subsequently invalided out of the army and died in 1918.

Captain (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel) John A. Sinton, Indian Medical Service.

For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty at Orah Ruins, Mesopotamia, on the 21st January, 1916. Although shot through both arms and through the side he refused to go to hospital, and remained as long as daylight lasted attending to his duties under very heavy fire. In three previous actions Captain Sinton displayed the utmost bravery.

Lieutenant Geoffrey St. George Shillington Cather, 9th Royal Irish Fusiliers (Ulster Division).

For most conspicuous bravery near Hamel, France, on 1st July, 1916. From 7 p.m. till midnight he searched "No Man's Land", and brought in three wounded men. Next morning, at 8 a.m., he continued his search, brought in another wounded man, and gave water to others, arranging for their rescue later. Finally at 10.30 a.m. he took out water to another man, and was proceeding farther on when he was himself killed. All this was carried out in full view of the enemy, and under direct machine-gun fire and intermittent artillery fire. He set a splendid example of courage and self-sacrifice.

14/18278, Private William Frederick M'Fadzean, 14th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles (Ulster Division).

For most conspicuous bravery near Thiepval Wood on 1st July, 1916. While in a concentration trench, and opening a box of bombs for distribution prior to an attack, the box slipped down into the trench, which was crowded with men, and two of the safety pins fell out. Private M'Fadzean, instantly realizing the danger to his comrades, with heroic courage threw himself on the top of the bombs. The bombs exploded, blowing him to pieces, but only one other man was injured. He well knew his danger, being himself a bomber, but without a moment's hesitation he gave his life for his comrades.

12/18645, Private (afterwards Sergeant) Robert Quigg, 12th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles (Ulster Division).

For most conspicuous bravery, near Hamel, France, on 1st July, 1916. He advanced to the assault with his platoon three times. Early next morning, hearing a rumour that his platoon officer was lying out wounded, he went out seven times to look for him under heavy shell and machine-gun fire, each time bringing back a wounded man. The last time he dragged one in on a waterproof sheet from within a few yards of the enemy's wire. He was seven hours engaged in this most gallant work, and finally was so exhausted that he had to give it up.

Captain Eric Norman Frankland Bell, 9th Battalion, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (Ulster Division).

For most conspicuous bravery at Thiepval, on 1st July, 1916. He was in command of a trench-mortar battery, and advanced with the infantry to the attack. When our front line was hung up by enfilading machine-gun fire, Captain Bell crept forward and shot the machine-gunner. Later on, upon no less than three occasions, when our bombing parties, which were clearing the enemy's trenches, were unable to advance, he went forward alone and threw trench-mortar bombs among the enemy. When he had no more bombs available he stood on the parapet, under intense fire, and used a rifle with great coolness and effect on the enemy advancing to counter-attack. Finally he was killed rallying and reorganizing infantry parties which had lost their officers. All this was outside the scope of his normal duties with his battery. He gave his life in his supreme devotion to duty.

3/5027, Private Thomas Hughes, 6th Battalion Connaught Rangers (16th Division).

For most conspicuous bravery and determination at Guillemont, France, on 3rd September, 1916. He was wounded in an attack, but returned at once to the firing-line after having his wounds dressed. Later, seeing a hostile machine-gun, he dashed out in front of his company, shot the gunner, and, single-handed, captured the gun. Though again wounded he brought back three or four prisoners.

Second-Lieutenant John Spencer Dunville, 1st Royal Dragoons.

For most conspicuous bravery near Epehy, France, on 24th and 25th June, 1917. When in charge of a party consisting of scouts and Royal Engineers engaged in the demolition of the enemy's wire, this officer displayed great gallantry and disregard of all personal danger. In order to ensure the absolute success of the work entrusted to him, Second-Lieutenant Dunville placed himself between an N.C.O. of the Royal Engineers and the enemy's fire, and, thus protected, this N.C.O. was enabled to complete a work of great importance. Second-Lieutenant Dunville, although severely wounded, continued to direct his men in the wire cutting and general operations until the raid was successfully completed, thereby setting a magnificent example of courage, determination, and devotion to duty to all ranks under his command. The gallant officer has since succumbed to his wounds.

Second-Lieutenant James Samuel Emerson, 9th Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (Ulster Division).

For repeated acts of most conspicuous bravery north of La Vacquerie on 6th December, 1917. He led the company in an attack and cleared four hundred yards of trench, though wounded; when the enemy attacked in superior numbers, he sprang out of the trench with eight men and met the attack in the open, killing many and taking six prisoners. For three hours after this, all other officers having become casualties, he remained with his company, refusing to go to the dressing-station, and repeatedly repelled bombing attacks. Later, when the enemy again attacked in superior numbers, he led his men to repel the attack, and was mortally wounded. His heroism, when worn out and exhausted from loss of blood, inspired his men to hold out, though almost surrounded, till reinforcements arrived and dislodged the enemy.

681886, Sergeant Cyril Edward Gourley, M.M., Royal Field Artillery.

For most conspicuous bravery when in command of a section of howitzers, at Little Priel Farm, east of Epehy, France, on 30th November, 1917

Though the enemy advanced in force, getting within four hundred yards in front, between three hundred to four hundred yards to one flank, and with snipers in rear, Sergeant Gourley managed to keep one gun in action practically throughout the day. Though frequently driven off he always returned, carrying ammunition, laying and firing the gun himself, taking first one and then another of the detachment to assist him. When the enemy advanced he pulled his gun out of the pit and engaged a machine-gun at five hundred yards, knocking it out with a direct hit. All day he held the enemy in check, firing with open sights on enemy parties in full view at three hundred to eight hundred yards, and thereby saved his guns, which were withdrawn at nightfall. He had previously been awarded the Military Medal for conspicuous gallantry.

75361, Company Sergeant-Major (now Lieutenant) Robert Hanna, Canadian Infantry.

For most conspicuous bravery at Lens, France, on 21st September, 1917, when his company met with most severe enemy resistance and all the company officers became casualties. A strong point, heavily protected by wire and held by a machine-gun, had beaten off three assaults of the company with heavy casualties. This warrant officer, under heavy machine-gun and rifle fire, coolly collected a party of men, and, leading them against the strong point, rushed through the wire and personally bayoneted three of the enemy and brained the fourth, capturing the position and silencing the machine-gun. This most courageous action displayed courage and personal bravery of the highest order at this most critical moment of the attack, and was responsible for the capture of a most important tactical point, and but for his daring action and determined handling of a desperate situation the attack would not have succeeded. Company Sergeant-Major Hanna's outstanding gallantry, personal courage, and determined leading of his company is deserving of the highest possible reward.

6/17978, Private James Duffy, 6th Battalion, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (10th Division).

For most conspicuous bravery at Lerlina Peak, Palestine, on 27th December, 1917, displayed whilst his company was holding a very exposed position. Private Duffy (a stretcher-bearer) and another stretcher-bearer went out to bring in a seriously-wounded comrade; when the other stretcher-bearer was wounded he returned to get another man; when again going forward the relief stretcher-bearer was killed. Private Duffy then went forward alone, and, under heavy fire, succeeded in getting both wounded men under cover and attended to their injuries. His gallantry undoubtedly saved both men's lives, and he showed throughout an utter disregard of danger under very heavy fire.

Second-Lieutenant Edmund De Wind, 15th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles (Ulster Division).

For most conspicuous bravery and self-sacrifice on 21st March, 1918, at the Racecourse Redoubt, near Groagie. For seven hours he held this important post, and though twice wounded and practically single-handed he maintained his position until another section could be got to his help. On two occasions, with two N.C.O.'s only, he got out on top under heavy machine-gun and rifle fire and cleared the enemy out of the trench, killing many. He continued to repel attack after attack until he was mortally wounded and collapsed. His valour, self-sacrifice, and example were of the highest order.

Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Annesley West, D.S.O., M.C., North Irish Horse, attached Tank Corps.

For most conspicuous bravery, leadership, and self-sacrifice at Courcelles and Vaulx, Vraacourt, France, on 21st August, 1918. During an attack, the infantry having lost their bearings in the dense fog, this officer at once collected and reorganized any men he could find, and led them to their objective in face of a heavy machine-gun fire. Throughout the whole action he displayed the most utter disregard of danger, and the capture of the objective was in a great part due to his initiative and gallantry. On a subsequent occasion it was intended that a battalion of light tanks under the command of this officer should exploit the initial infantry and heavy tank attack. He therefore went forward in order to keep in touch with the progress of the battle, and arrived at the front line when the enemy were in process of delivering a local counter-attack. The infantry battalion had suffered heavy officer casualties, and its flanks were exposed. Realizing that there was a danger of the battalion giving way, he at once rode out in front of them under extremely heavy machine-gun and rifle fire, and rallied the men. In spite of the fact that the enemy were close upon him he took charge of the situation and detailed non-commissioned officers to replace officer casualties. He then rode up and down in front of them in face of certain death, encouraging the men and calling to them, "Stick it, men; show them fight; and for God's sake put up a good fight". He fell riddled by machine-gun bullets. The magnificent bravery of this very gallant officer at the critical moment inspired the infantry to redoubled efforts, and the hostile attack was defeated.

WAR CHARITIES

While doing their share in the actual fighting and other forms of war work, the people of Ulster were not behind in their support of war charities.

The first large fund raised during the war was the Prince of Wales Fund, to which over £50,000 was subscribed in Ulster. Then came the Red Cross Fund, to which, during the war, Ulster subscribed £150,000 — considerably more than was raised in the other three Irish provinces combined. Large sums were also raised for the Belgian and Serbian Relief Funds; for Lady Jellicoe's appeal on behalf of the Sailors' Funds; for the French War Charities, and for other minor funds.

At the three Belfast railway stations and at the Belfast Docks, buffets were established during the war at which over two million men received free meals. The docks buffet was opened every day in the year from five o'clock in the morning till eight o'clock at night. A devoted band of ladies took their turn, even in the most severe weather, to be present and receive the men arriving off the various cross-channel steamers. Motor cars were also provided so that the men with only a few minutes to spare were able to catch trains for distant parts of the country, in many cases allowing them a whole day longer at home out of their brief leave. Upwards of £5000 was subscribed for these buffets in addition to very large contributions of food supplies.

In the city of Derry nearly 200,000 men were similarly entertained, including over 5000 men from 96 torpedoed ships, who were all given free board and lodging until they could be sent home. In many cases they were equipped with a complete outfit of clothing, having lost their own.

Three great enterprises, however, stood out above the others in Ulster.

There was first, the Ulster Volunteer Force Patriotic Fund, amounting to over £100,000, which was established during the second year of the war. It was realized by some of the leading business men connected with the Ulster Volunteers that a large number of demobilized soldiers might find it difficult to take up their former work after the war on account of wounds or sickness, and as the pension allowed by the Government would not be equal to their former wages, in many cases they would have difficulty in supporting their wives and children. Accordingly, it was decided that a fund should be provided under the auspices of the Ulster Volunteer Force Head-quarters to assist all Ulster soldiers who might be in need after the war. An official committee was formed, including many of the foremost business and professional men in the province, who undertook the collection and management of the fund, which in about a year had exceeded £100,000. This sum was lodged in the bank in the names of several trustees to await the end of the war. Since the Armistice, committees have been formed in each county to undertake the distribution of the fund, which will be used to supplement the Government pension. Men unable to take up their former work will be assisted to learn suitable trades; grants will be given to educate their families, to pay apprenticeship fees, and to help them in other ways as the committees may think fit. It is clear that the fund will prove of the greatest possible value and assistance to hundreds of demobilized men.

Another remarkable enterprise was the Ulster Prisoner of War and Comforts Fund, which was established in the first autumn of the war. From that time until the end of 1918 a sum of at least £150,000 was spent in sending regular fortnightly parcels to every Ulster prisoner of war. A suite of rooms was granted to the committee in the old Town Hall, the head-quarters of the Ulster Volunteer Force, and a large number of ladies voluntarily undertook the work of packing and dispatching the parcels, with the advice of competent business men. Contracts were entered into for supplies of all the necessary articles, and many of the large manufacturing houses gave the materials at cost price, and some at even less.

As the number of prisoners increased, the work, of course, became more and more strenuous, and in the summer of 1918, after the last great German attack when many Ulstermen were captured, the staff of voluntary workers had risen to almost two hundred, and the work went on steadily until at least ten o'clock every night. Anyone who visited the rooms of the committee might easily have imagined that he was in the packing and dispatching department of a huge grocery and provision establishment, as the work was conducted on exactly the same lines, everything being checked and entered with the greatest care and correctness. The work was hard and monotonous, but the workers felt amply rewarded by the letters of thanks and by the visits which they often received from repatriated prisoners, who one and all assured them that the receipt of these parcels was the only thing which kept them alive.

The third great Ulster war charity was the organization of the Ulster Volunteer Force Hospitals.

In the autumn of 1914, when the list of casualties became so great, the heads of

the Ulster Volunteers decided that something should be done to provide accommodation for the large number of wounded in the various Ulster battalions. Accordingly, an offer was made to the War Office that the Ulster Volunteers would equip, and maintain as long as necessary, a hospital of one hundred beds, preferably for Ulster soldiers, but also for any men the War Office chose to send. The offer was accepted, and within a remarkably short space of time a large building, the property of the Corporation, was acquired. The Corporation allowed its use free of rent, only stipulating for its return when no longer needed. The situation was an ideal one, as the building was bounded on one side by a public park, and on the other by the grounds of Belfast University.

The hospital proved a great success, and before long the War Office asked if the accommodation could be increased, and, confident in the support of the Ulster people, the committee at once agreed.

The university authorities granted a considerable strip of ground beside their own buildings, on which additional wards were erected. As time went on, still further requests were made for an extension, until finally the buildings had spread over a large area and were able to accommodate nearly six hundred patients.

From all quarters came most valuable assistance. A house was granted free as a residence for the matron and nursing staff by Mr. (afterwards the Right Hon.) J. C. White, Lord Mayor of Belfast. The students of the university gave up their fine union club as a recreation and reading room for the men; the theological students of the Presbyterian College close at hand also voluntarily evacuated their fine range of residential chambers to be converted into a home for the V.A.D.'s and nurses. The Corporation assisted the hospital by every means in its power, allowing the necessary structural alterations to be made in the buildings, and the university senate also gave up some of the class-rooms. Still the work increased, and, thanks to the support of the Ulster people, funds were never wanting. Two houses were afterwards taken as a separate convalescent home for officers. Then two large mansion houses were acquired in County Down, to be used as convalescent homes to which men could be sent to complete their cure in the fresher air of the country. Motor ambulances were provided for transporting the patients to and from the different hospitals. Then followed a special orthopædic branch in which limbless men were carefully treated and equipped with artificial limbs. Next came a splendidly equipped department for massage and electric treatment. Through the generosity of Colonel Sir James Craig, M.P., his beautiful residence, "Craigavon", in a suburb of Belfast, was handed over to the hospital committee as a convalescent home for men suffering from shell-shock, the treatment of whom in the other hospitals was not advisable. This was the first home for shell-shock cases established in the United Kingdom outside London.

Up to the end of the war, in all these different branches, the Ulster Volunteer Force Hospital Committee was able to treat several thousands of patients. They were not confined to Ulstermen. Wounded soldiers were sent from all parts of the Kingdom, and were unanimous in declaring that there was no hospital superior to the one organized by the Ulster Volunteer Force in Belfast.

Up to the end of 1918, about eight thousand men had passed through the

different departments of the hospital, and while some of the branches had been given up as the number of patients grew less, the limbless, orthopædic, and massage departments were still in full operation at the end of 1919, as well as the Craigavon neurasthenic hospital. Practically all the leading physicians and surgeons in Belfast gave their services free to the hospital, each taking it in turn to visit the wards, prescribe for the patients, and perform all necessary operations.

Not only was upwards of £100,000 subscribed to the hospital, but also other assistance was given in many ways. The master-butchers of Belfast undertook to supply weekly a large quantity of meat free to the hospital. The master-bakers and their men made an arrangement whereby the masters supplied the materials while the men gave an hour or two overtime several days a week, and so supplied nearly all the bread free to the hospital, using for this purpose, by permission of the Corporation, the admirable model bakery attached to the Belfast Technical Institute. Many of the leading business houses also undertook to send weekly or monthly contributions of food, clothes, and such like, while fruit, flowers, and vegetables were regularly supplied from all over the country. Some of the heads of the Army Medical Service inspected the hospital at various times, and without exception stated that in its perfect organization, efficiency, and success it had no superior.

This was not the only hospital in Belfast. The committees of the Royal Victoria Hospital and the Mater Hospital both set apart wings for the reception of wounded soldiers. Another hospital was established in what formerly had been an asylum from which the patients had not long been removed to another building, and this was devoted to men suffering from mental breakdown and other nervous troubles. The Red Cross and St. John's Associations established and maintained for a considerable time a convalescent hospital in a suburb of Belfast for men who were not yet reported fit for duty, although not requiring regular medical or surgical treatment. Here also a large mansion house belonging to a prominent Belfast family was lent to the committee for so long as it should be required, and a very considerable number of patients were treated.

The end of the war and the new era of peace thus find the people of Ulster, while sorrowing over their many bereavements, yet proud of their record in imperial service, and fully determined to maintain that high position which they have won amongst the loyal subjects of the King, and as citizens of the Empire to which they are so faithfully attached.

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